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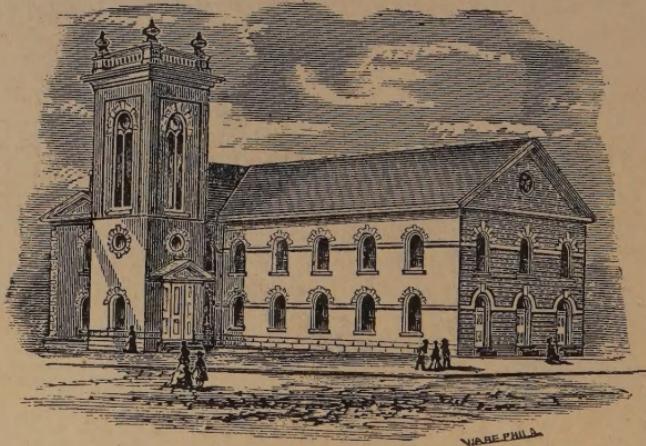
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WARD PHILS

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CARLISLE, PA.

Church, outside, 70X51 ft.

Audience Room, 59X46.

Seats, below, 400 Persons;
in the Gallery, 240.

Audience Room seats 640.

Lecture Room seats 240.

Chapel, outside, 70X33ft.

Height of Tower, 68 ft.

Lecture and S. S. Rooms,
each, 30X47 ft.

Session's and Pastor's
rooms, each, 21X16 ft.

Heavy walls of dressed blue limestone, in a grove, occupying the N. W. quarter of the Centre Square.

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A

HISTORY

OF THE

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

OF

CARLISLE, PA.

BY

REV. CONWAY P. WING, D. D.

CARLISLE:
"VALLEY SENTINEL" OFFICE.
1877.

"Respect and love for the dead are shown, not by great monuments to them which we build with *our* hand, but by letting the monuments stand which they built with *their own.*"

RUSKIN.

P R E F A C E.

The following History was commenced about 1858, near the time at which the First Presbyterian Congregation of Carlisle celebrated its One Hundredth Anniversary. Soon afterwards, the Presbytery of Harrisburg with which that Congregation was then connected, requested the pastor of each church under its care to prepare and deposit with the Stated Clerk of Presbytery a detailed history of its origin and progress. Such a narrative, amounting to about Sixty pages, was then prepared for the church of Carlisle and was reported to Presbytery.

When the Centennial year of the Republic was in progress, and in response to a recommendation of the General Assembly Historical Discourses were delivered in each congregation, the writer was called upon to prepare and publish an Address relating to the Presbytery of Carlisle, and another relating to the church of Carlisle. Instead of publishing the latter it was thought preferable to prepare and give to the public all that could be collected from tradition, old papers and more general histories relating to that church. The present work was accordingly prepared and is now published. It has been a labor of love and is now offered to the people to whom the writer once ministered, and to all in every part of our widely extended country who have been connected with that church, with a fervent prayer, that what is good in it may be perpetuated and augmented by this reference to former times.

Carlisle, June 28, 1877.

C. P. WING.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle had its first place of meeting on the bank of the Conodoguinet about two miles west of the present town. It was then the centre of a large district of country, bounded on the North and South by the ranges of mountains which form the Valley, and on the East and West by the extent of the settlements. The most eastern portion of the Valley does not appear to have been the first settled. About the time the white people began to cross the Susquehanna, the Proprietaries laid off between seven and eight thousand acres of land extending eleven miles from the river, and between the Conodoguinet and the Yellow Breeches Creek, for a manor on which settlements were forbidden.* Accordingly when this region first became known to the whites, the Indians who occupied it appear to have been principally remnants of several tribes. They belonged to a Confederacy living between the Delaware and the Susquehanna and on those rivers,

*Manors were tracts of land reserved from ordinary sales and held by the Proprietaries as private property. Lowther or Paxton manor was kept back partially in fulfillment of a promise to the Indians, that if they would occupy it they should have a home here. *Rupp's History of Dauphin, Cumberland, &c., Counties*, pp. 355—6. *Chambers' Irish and Scotch Early Settlers*, p. 55.

who went by the name of Leni Lenape, or the "Original People," in distinction from more recent tribes within and around them. By the whites they were usually called, from the principal rivers within their territory, the Delaware or Susquehanna Indians. A kind of allegiance was claimed from them by the more powerful Confederacy of the Six Nations, who lived in New York.* In conformity with a peculiar policy and usage these Leni Lenape had admitted a number of remnants of tribes to reside on their territory, for whose good behavior they had become responsible. About 1698 a few families of the Shawanese, who had been driven from Florida, received permission to settle on both sides of the Susquehanna, and with the consent of the Proprietaries took possession of this part of the Valley. In consequence of some disorders committed by their young men, they became fearful of the Six Nations and about 1727 a large portion of them removed to the Ohio, and fell under the influence of the French. Anxious to detach them from this influence, the Proprietary in 1732 urged them to return and as a motive promised to secure for them a large tract of land West of the Susquehanna, as a permanent home. Not many of them however complied with this invitation, and yet the earliest settlers used to tell of several Indian villages in the Eastern part of the County, near the Susquehanna, and on the Conodoguinet, the Letort and the Yellow Breeches Creeks.† Two or three such villages were on the trail which ran from

**Day's Hist. Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, pp. 5—7. *Rupp's History of Cumberland, &c., Counties*, pp. 350—52.

†*Ditto*, pp. 351—5.

the gap of the mountains at Mount Holly, past the head of Letort Spring over the Conodoguinet to the gaps of the North Mountain.* About ten years before (1720) James LeTort had formed a trading post on the bank of the stream which bears his name at a point near the Eastern confines of the present Borough.† In this vicinity the first white settlement within the territory now covered by the County of Cumberland, appears to have been formed. No single tribe of Indians could claim exclusive jurisdiction. The Shawanese, the Delawares, and the Tuscaroras, with refugees from other tribes mingled and lived together without much distinction. The Shawanese were the most numerous, and the town on the Conodoguinet was said to have belonged to them, but that on the Letort probably belonged to the Min-goes (mixed people), as the Iroquois or people belonging to the Six Nations were called when they lived away from their special territory; and for a time it may have been the residence of the celebrated Logan. In consequence of this variety of Indian tribes who occupied the Valley, numerous claims were set up, and it became difficult for the State authorities to make purchases of land. Each tribe represented by residents here, as well as both the great Confederacies which confessedly had paramount authority, demanded remuneration. As peace was far more valuable than the price put upon the lands, and as the Proprietaries were willing to deal justly by all who had any semblance of rights, the lands

**Rupp's History of Cumberland, &c., Counties*, p. 352.

†*Rupp*, p. 34.

were actually purchased a number of times and from more than one contracting party. It was not until some time after immigrants began to cross the river, that these Indian claims were so far extinguished that the Proprietaries felt warranted in giving legal titles to the lands.* Immigrants however were not only permitted but encouraged to take up their residence here. The authorities were not displeased to see a hardy and enterprising class of inhabitants forming a rampart against some dangers which were beginning to threaten their colony not only from the savages, but from the rival jurisdiction of Maryland. The Indians were quieted by the assurance that their unadjusted claims would be respected and amply satisfied, and to the settlers themselves a kind of temporary "licenses" was given which availed until complete titles could be issued. It was not from the settlers at this time nor on any territory within the present County of Cumberland that lands were occupied without permission or that any subsequent expulsions by the civil authorities had to be effected.†

The valley over so large a portion of which this congregation originally extended was then called the Kitochtinny or the North Valley. It is a part of a much more extended one traceable from the South-western corner of Vermont, across the Hudson at Newburgh, the Delaware at Easton, the Susquehanna at Harrisburgh, the Potomac at Harpers' Ferry, the James at Lynchburgh, and along the Tennessee into the northern

* *Rupp*, pp. 29—32. *Chambers*, pp. 21—9.

† *Chambers*, pp. 22, 59—60.

part of Alabama.* From a disposition to give favorite English names to the new country, and following the example of their more eastern brethren who had transferred such names as York, Lancaster, Berks, Chester, &c., from the North of England to their counties, that portion of the Valley which belongs to the State west of the Susquehanna received the name of Cumberland.

The first settlements were made probably not earlier than the years 1729-30. They were exclusively of that class which has since received the name of *Scotch-Irish*, from the fact that they were principally descendants of Scotchmen who had for several generations resided in Ireland. Some indeed are known to have emigrated directly from Scotland, but most of them were either directly from Ireland, or from the more eastern part of this country which had been settled from Ireland. Not unlikely the character of the "canny Scotch" had received some modification from their residence and intercourse with the more "mercurial Irish." We have no evidence that within the limits of the present County of Cumberland, persons of any other nationality were found for a whole generation. For the ten years extending from 1730 to 1740 the number of these immigrants was so large that leading men in the province were apprehensive of a complete revolution in the character of the colony.† They were of a condition in life somewhat

*Kau ta-tin-chunk, or the Main Mountain, gradually softened into Kitochtinny, and Kittatinny. This last designation it still often bears, but generally it goes by the name of the Blue or the North Mountain.
Rupp, p. 210. *Chambers*, pp. 58-59.

†*Chambers*, pp. 8-12, 60, 147. *Rupp*, pp. 51ss.

different from that of their fellow countrymen who had come over at an earlier period. They were not driven from their native land by persecution or by the desire to find freedom of worship, so much as by the hope of improving their worldly condition.* It was almost impossible for them to acquire the fee simple of lands there, they were liable to extreme exactions and oppressions when they attempted to rent lands which their own thrift and labor had rendered valuable, the laws of marriage were such as to imperil their domestic peace and the legitimacy of their children, and the school regulations were such as to embarrass them much in the religious education of their families. The glowing accounts which the colonial agents sent among them respecting the lands and the privileges of these colonies, were sufficient to induce all who had means and opportunity to leave, to break away from kindred and homes to find a new establishment in this Western world. The authorities of Pennsylvania were especially liberal in their promises, and a number of circumstances combined to attract these immigrants to this valley. Its fertile soil, copious springs, winding streams and salubrious climate, its recent evacuation by most of its original inhabitants, and above all its exclusive possession by set-

*At an earlier period many poor people had come over by selling their future services to pay for their passage, and these were farmed out to the colonists for a term of years and were called Redemptorists. On the other hand these Scotch-Irish settlers in the Cumberland Valley, came with means to buy land and to live upon for awhile, and often with their schoolmasters, and some books and a trade. *Chambers'*, as above. *Dr. Creigh's Discourse at the reunion of Presbyterians in the Cumberland Valley, 1874.*

tlers of like faith and nationality, presented inducements which they were not slow to appreciate. And yet a desire to build up and enjoy a church system according to their faith and the customs of their forefathers was prominent among their motives for emigration. They were thorough Presbyterians and would have been as ready as their forefathers to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for their peculiar principles, had they been called to such an alternative. It was a period of religious fervor in a portion of their church at home as well as in this country. A large part had indeed declined in Scotland into dead Moderatism and in Ireland into Arianism ; and the ministers of kindred churches in the colonies shared in the spirit of the countries from which they had emigrated ; but everywhere there were reactions and revivals which betokened a vigorous life within.* The "Marrow controversy" which resulted in the Scottish Secession,† the Irish Schism in which an unsound element was indignantly rejected and cast forth, and the labors of such men in this country as the Tennants, the Blairs and the Craigheads indicated the approach of better times. Something of the rigidity and severity of the mother churches were advantageously laid aside on account of the necessities of an infant church. Kindred elements from England, Wales and New England were not rejected for slight differences in ecclesiastical order, as long as the es-

**S. D. Alexander's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, pp. 316 22. *Dr. E. H. Gillett's History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, pp. 47 58. *Dr. C. Hodge's Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 22ss.

†*Hetherington's History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 344-5, 348.

sentials of the Calvinistic creeds were preserved. There is reason for believing that no formal confession of faith was adopted by the original Presbyteries and Synods of the American Church.* Whatever may have been understood (and we know that verbal assurances were freely given which gave full satisfaction respecting the orthodoxy and order of all church officers), it is plain that much liberality was exercised. It was rather for vindication before the world and for the satisfaction of the civil authorities, than for their own fellowship that any appeal was made to the Westminster Articles. About the time of the first settlement of this Valley however, began to be felt the need of some security against the lax views of many ministers from Ireland from which most of their supplies came. Accordingly, in 1729, the Adopting Act had been passed unanimously in the Synod which was then the supreme judicatory of the church, in which it was agreed that all who were then members and all who should afterwards be admitted, should "declare their agreement in and approbation of the Confession of Faith with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as being in all the essential and necessary articles, good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine." It was, however, provided that "in case any minister or candidate shall have any scruple with respect to any article, he should declare his sentiments to the Presbytery or Synod, which should notwithstanding admit him, if it should judge his scruple or mistake to

**Hodge's Const. Hist.* pp. 104—5, *Gillett*, p. 53ss.

be only about articles not essential and necessary to doctrine, worship, or government." Six years afterward, to prevent some misunderstandings, the Synod declared, that as a matter of fact "the Synod had adopted and did still adhere to the Westminster Confession, Catechisms and Directory without the least variation or alteration, and without any regard to the distinctions," or scruples which they allowed for in others. The terms of the Adopting Act however remained as the rule by which the ecclesiastical bodies were governed in the reception of ministers and candidates, and the permanent witness of the liberal spirit of the early church of this country.* Even among those who were directly from the mother churches of Scotland and Ireland all were by no means zealous for a strict subscription. Some of the most ardent opponents of every attempt to require such a subscription were among the Scotch-Irish ministers. None of them however asked for any relaxation of terms on their own account, but only in the interest of general liberty, and it was precisely on this point that a large part of the differences arose which gave rise to the first great schism in the Presbyterian church. The great majority of the American church in this respect has differed from the Scottish and Irish churches, and never yet has any party in it succeeded in changing the fundamental law which requires of intrants into its ministry and eldership, simply a sincere reception and adoption "of the Confession of faith as containing the system of

* *Gillett*, pp. 47—58, *Hodge*, pp. 151ss. Records of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 92, 125.

doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures," and their "approbation of the government and discipline of the Presbyterian church."*

We may also notice that the period at which these churches were founded, was a remarkable one in the political world. George the Second had commenced his reign in 1727, and Thomas and John Penn had come over to this country and were acting as Proprietaries. The oppressive laws under which the Presbyterians of Ireland and Scotland had been impoverished and driven from their native land had been repealed, and yet enough of injustice remained in those laws combined with the recollection of former persecutions, to produce in the hearts of these emigrants an undying and unyielding hatred of all tyranny in church or state.

Even at this early period too there had commenced a heated controversy in the more Eastern churches, which soon extended to this region, regarding revivals of religion as the true work of God in spite of their accompanying disorders, and the duty of examining with more strictness than before into the evidences of piety in candidates for the ministry and for the communion.† Scarcely had this church been organized before tokens of this controversy made their appearance in it. The ministers sent to them as supplies were men who then and afterwards were warmly enlisted on one side or the other of this controversy, we cannot doubt that they imparted a portion of their zeal to their hearers. It was

**Hodge*, pp. 170ss. *Gillett*, pp. 47—58. Bib. Report., 1869.

†*Hodge's Const. Hist.* Part II. Chap. V. pp. 219 ss.

not long before this party spirit began to bring forth its fruits here.

It was natural however that even those most inclined to adapt their ecclesiastical arrangements to new circumstances, should in general conform to the customs of the country from which they came. This was evident especially in the Territorial principle which they applied to their congregations. It was agreed that no two houses of worship in the country should be built nearer to each other than ten miles, and numerous instances are on record of what were called "perambulations," by which these distances were measured. When it was proposed to erect a new house of worship persons were selected by Presbytery to pass over the distance between the nearest existing place of meeting and the spot selected for a new one and report how many miles it was from actual measurement. Ministers too were expected to superintend the religious education of children in the schools after the habit of the old country, sometimes by themselves opening such a school, but in any case by securing the public instruction of the pupils in the Catechisms. The standard of education for ministers was maintained as high as in older countries. This was in some cases a matter of difficulty in consequence of the want of higher institutions of learning. Every candidate for licensure was required either to produce a diploma as a graduate of some College, or to show by his examination that his acquirements were equivalent to those demanded in a Collegiate course : and it was on this point that the two great parties in the

Church found an occasion for one of their most serious controversies. Some of the schools opened by Tennant and Smith and Blair professed to supply the means of a most thorough ministerial education, and they were offended when their certificates were not accepted as equivalent to the diplomas of a New England or Scottish college. It was agreed however among all parties that those who applied for ordination were to give satisfactory evidence that they were possessed of an education equivalent to that of a Bachelor of Arts.*

The right of the people to choose their own ministers however was asserted with more than usual positiveness. Not only were they to be elected by a majority of the legal votes in the congregation, certified carefully before Presbytery, but on the day of their installation the presiding minister made proclamation before the church door as he entered, that even then every one was at liberty to bring forward any objection to the proposed proceeding.† If no such objection appeared, the parties were debarred from urging at any subsequent period what was then known to them. The union thus formed between pastor and people was subject to dissolution when Presbytery became aware that it was unprofitable or unacceptable to either party, but it was understood that no slight causes were to interrupt a connection which partook of the sacredness of a marriage.

*Records of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 144-5. *Gillett*, pp. 68-71.

†This was a *usage*, derived from I know not what origin, not from any law or written enactment; but it was a practice often mentioned in the minutes of Presbyteries.

CHAPTER II.

ORGANIZATION.

The first settlements in this valley were, as we have seen, in its central and western parts. The very first of which we have any notice (after the transient Indian traders), were four brothers, James, Robert, Joseph and Benjamin Chambers, who about or before 1730 took up lands west of the Susquehanna. Not only because of the reservation of the eastern part of the valley as a Proprietary manor made about this time, but from preference they made settlements at different points further on.* "James settled at the head of Green Spring near Newville, Robert at the head of Middle Spring near Shippensburg, and Joseph and Benjamin at the confluence of Falling Spring and Conococheague creeks where Chambersburg now is."† Near the same time James Silvers, William Trindle and others made purchases not far from the present site of Mechanicsburgh.|| Such locations show what must have been the direction of these first settlements. All the favorite positions on the principal streams and springs and Indian trails were soon seized upon. As the Indian title to the lands was still in process of adjustment, no deeds were then given or

* *Rupp*, p. 439.

† *Hon. Geo. Chambers*, in *Rupp*, p. 463.

|| *Rupp*, pp. 357-8.

were entered on public records. Settlements however were urged forward by the Proprietaries and their agents, for such resolute and hardy people were likely to form a secure defence against threatened invasions from Maryland, and the Indians were assured that their claims would be equitably satisfied. An "inception of title" was in the meantime given in the form of licenses, which could afterwards be exchanged for deeds.* In 1736 a treaty was concluded with the Six Nations by which all the lands on the South of the Kittatinny Hills were ceded to the Proprietaries and the controversy with Maryland was by mutual consent suspended, so that in January, 1737, the Land office of Pennsylvania was opened and the lands on the west of the river were sold on the usual terms.† It was about this time (1729—48) that the tide of immigration from Ireland into Pennsylvania was at its highest, so that at the close of that period there were in this county not less than eight hundred taxables, five or six thousand inhabitants, and seven or eight Presbyterian congregations.||

As early as 1734 these settlers had become numerous enough to send up "supplications" to the Presbytery of Donegal for "supplies of preachers." The designation given in the Records of Presbytery to these petitioners is not very precise, for at first there was probably no house of worship erected among them and perhaps no permanent place of meeting agreed upon. They are called simply, "the people over the river," or "the set-

*Chambers' Irish and Scotch Early Settlers, pp. 59-60.

†Chambers, pp. 59-60. Rupp, p. 30.

||Chambers, pp. 61-3.

tlement over the river." Alexander Craighead, then just licensed to preach was "ordered" (Oct. 6, 1734,) to supply them "two or three Sabbaths in November," and in April 4th, 1735, he was again appointed to supply said people "the next two ensuing Sabbaths,"* and John Thomson "at least two Sabbaths before the next meeting of Presbytery."† Rev. William Bartram of Paxton and Derry, was also ordered (June 12, 1735,) "to supply the people over the river two Sabbaths before the next

**A. Craighead* was the son of *Rev. Thomas Craighead*, mentioned in a subsequent note. He was licensed to preach by Donegal Presbytery on the same day on which the above order to supply "over the river" was given him; and he was ordained and installed over the congregation of Middle Octorara, Lancaster Co., Pa., June 20, 1735. He became a warm friend of Whitefield and of "the revival," and a powerful preacher. His zeal involved him in many conflicts with his brethren. He went with the New Side, but on his failure to induce the New York Synod to adopt the "Solemn League and Covenant," he withdrew and took part in introducing "Reformed Presbyterianism" into this country. He returned to the N. Y. Synod and was a member of New Castle Presbytery (New Side) in 1753, but was dismissed in 1755 to form the new Presbytery of Hanover, Va. He had probably become a resident in Virginia somewhere about 1749, and remained there until after Braddock's defeat in 1755, when he removed with most of his congregation to Sugar Creek, Mecklenburgh Co., N. C., where he continued as a minister until March 1766 when he died, "leaving behind him the affectionate remembrance of his abundant and useful labors." His descendants are numerous and highly respectable in the Southern and Western States. Memoir of the Craighead Family, by *J. G. Craighead*, D. D., 1776, pp. 41-51.

†*Rev. John Thomson*, came in 1715 as a probationer from Ireland, was ordained and installed over the congregation of Lewes, Del., in 1717, left there in 1729, and after a brief stay at Middle Octorara was installed in 1732 at Chestnut Level. He was very prominent on the Old Side during the rupture of 1741, was an able and intelligent minister, and lived to gain the respect even of his opponents. He was dismissed from his charge at Chestnut Level in 1744, and spent the closing years of his life in Virginia where he died in 1753. He favored the reunion but did not live to witness it. *Webster*, pp. 355-6.

meeting.”* These appointments were all fulfilled, making at least nine Sabbaths in the course of this first year.

During the next year the designation of these people is changed and becomes more precise. It is now “the people of Conodoguinet or beyond the Susquehanna.” The settlers had now fixed upon a place of meeting which gave name to the society. It was on the Conodoguinet, and we hear of no place on that stream which was ever occupied as a preaching station near that period except that which has since been called the “Meeting House Springs,” about two miles northwest of Carlisle. We cannot imagine that such a designation would have been given to a society whose place of meeting was distant from the stream which gave it a name. In Sept. 3, 1735, Alexander Craighead was “ordered to supply the people of Conodoguinet or beyond the Susquehanna two Sabbath days at discretion before the next meeting of Presbytery;” but in October 7th he reported that “he did not fulfil this appointment by reason that he had so little time to prepare his Presbyterial exercise.” Two days afterwards his father, Rev. Thomas Craighead of Pequea, was appointed to supply the same people “the last Sabbath in October and the two first Sabbaths of

*Rev. William Bertram (or Bartram) was received by Synod in 1732, from the Presbytery of Bangor in Ireland, united with the Presbytery of Donegal at its first meeting (Oct. 10, 1732), when he received and accepted a call which had been put in his hands by the Presbytery of New Castle from the people of Paxton and Derry. In 1735, he complained of “the intolerable burden” of his two congregations, and he was released from Paxton, September 13, 1736. He died May 3, 1746, and his tomb may be seen near the old meeting house of Derry, Hummelstown, on the banks of the Swatara.” Webster, pp. 411-12.

November,"* and Alexander Craighead two Sabbaths. Both of these appointments were afterwards (Nov. 20) reported to have been fulfilled. The same designation of "Conodoguinet" continues to be used in the appointments of John Thomson of Chestnut Level ("two or three Sabbaths"), of Samuel Golston or Gelston† (ten Sabbaths) and of Thomas Craighead (two Sabbaths, and afterwards for six months or until next Spring). We notice however that when Mr. Thomson was appointed

*Rev. *Thomas Craighead* was the son of Rev. Robert Craighead, for thirty years the pastor of the Presbyterian church of Donoughmore, Ireland, and subsequently at Londonderry when it closed its gates against the forces of James Second. On the second day of the siege he escaped, but afterwards returned and died there in 1711. Thomas came to America in 1715, preached for a while at Freetown (near Fall river), Mass., was pastor for seven years at White Clay creek, Del., but removed in 1733, to Pequea, Lancaster Co., where he was pastor until 1736. In consequence of some difficulties in discipline he left there and accepted a call in 1737 to the congregation at Big Spring (Newville), where he was installed in October, 1738, his son Alexander conducting the services. His pastorate here was brief, as he died while preaching in his pulpit in April, 1739. He is said to have been a preacher of more than ordinary fervor and eloquence. Donegal Presbytery in its minutes calls him "Father Craighead." His fourth son John was for a time a merchant in Philadelphia, but in 1742, he purchased and settled upon a large tract of land about four miles south of where Carlisle now is and resided there until his death. His descendants are numerous and highly respectable. Several of them have been eminent ministers, one for many years pastor at Rocky Spring, Franklin Co., another at Meadville, Erie Co., and still another was for a long time an editor of the *N. Y. Evangelist*, and is now Secretary of the Pres. Hist. Soc.. Others reside on parts of the original estate in Cumberland Co. Account of the Craighead Family, pp. 35ss. 52.

†He came from Ireland in 1715. was ordained and installed as a colleague with his brother at Southampton, Long Island, where he remained ten years. He was then called to New London, Pa., but on account of difficulties was not installed. He became a member of Donegal Presbytery, April 13, 1736, supplied many congregations within its bounds, was dismissed in 1737, and died Oct. 22, 1782, aged ninety. Webster, pp. 361 2. Thompson's History of Long Island.

(Dec. 10, 1735) he was directed to give two of his three Sabbaths at Conodoguinet to "the *upper part* of said people," and in Oct. 27, 1736, Mr. Daniel Williams who had been "appointed a collector of supply-money among the upper part of the congregation of Conodoguinet, promiseth to do his best to gather up what arrears are due by that people, and also to acquaint the lower part of that settlement to do likewise." The whole "settlement" is here called a congregation, but it had then become divided into an upper and lower part so that the preacher could give some of his Sabbaths to one and not to the other. They must therefore have begun to meet in separate places, and it would perhaps be fair to infer that the one to which the largest portion of the supply was given was the most important. Some time in 1735 the North Valley embracing what is now Cumberland and Franklin counties, was divided into two townships, Pennsborough and Hopewell, by a line running from the South to the North mountain, directly by the Great Spring (Newville). On the sixth of April, 1737, Mr. Robert Henry appeared in Presbytery, to present "the desire of the people of Hopewell, over the Susquehanna, to have Mr. Thomas Craighead for their ordinary supply until the next meeting of Presbytery," and "Mr. Craighead was ordered to supply said people accordingly." The previous year (Sept. 19, 1736), Mr. T. Craighead had been released from his pastoral charge at Pequea; and in June 22, 1737, "a supplication from the people of Hopewell was presented requesting the concurrence of Presbytery to draw a call to Mr. Craighead." From this it would appear that the people of

Hopewell or Big Spring (Newville) had become a separate people, so that we now have two portions of the old "Conodoguinet" congregation beginning to assemble at new places of worship, the one on the eastern and the other on the western side. On the presentation of the request of the people of Hopewell however the record continues, "The Presbytery finding some inconvenience in reference to the situation of one of their houses, don't see cause to concur with them at present; but do appoint Mr. Black* to supply at Pennsborough on the last Sabbath of July, and on the following week to convene that people and the people of Hopewell at James McFarlane's, in order to inquire if Pennsborough will agree that Hopewell build a meeting house at the Great Spring, and make a report thereof at our next." It is evident from this, that by "Pennsborough" is here meant "Upper Pennsborough" near Carlisle, for "Lower Pennsborough" could have had no such conflict of territory with Hopewell. Mr. Craighead was in the meanwhile ordered at the last date "to supply at Hopewell until the next meeting." At this next meeting (Aug. 31), Mr. Black reported "that he supplied the people of Pennsborough, and convened that people and the people of Hopewell on the Monday following, and heard them

*He was originally from Ireland, was called to the "Forks of the Brandywine" in September, 1735, and ordained and installed there November 18, 1735. In the contentions of the Old and New Side he was peculiarly obnoxious to the latter. He was tried by the Donegal Presbytery and censured in 1740—41, for immorality and "slighting his work"; and as a majority of his people sided with the "Brunswick brethren" he was released from his charge. He ministered for a while at "Conewago," but on a division of his people there he was dismissed, and after much contention he went South, where he died in 1770. Webster. pp. 438—41.

confer about the meeting house proposed to be built at the Great Spring, and that parties did not agree about the same. Commissioners from the people of Hopewell gave in a supplication complaining of the Presbytery's slowness in concurring with them in order to Mr. Craighead's settlement among them. The Presbytery spent considerable time in hearing commissioners from the people of Pennsborough and Hopewell debating about the situation of the above meeting house ; and at last all parties being removed, the Presbytery spent considerable time in debating the matter, and at last when they came to put the vote to alter the bounds of Pennsborough or not it was carried in the negative by a great majority. The Presbytery also agree that we can't but disapprove of the people of Hopewell building a meeting house just on the border of Pennsborough congregation. As to the meeting house of Pennsborough, the Presbytery approve of their unanimous agreement about the situation of it, notwithstanding of its being built in a different place from the committee's opinion in the matter seeing it doth not encroach on any other congregation."

It is singular that in the records of Presbytery during this period we have no notice of the original organization of churches. For some time indeed no record is made of the sitting of any elders from the churches in the meetings of Presbytery. It is scarcely possible that there were no such organizations, for not only have we notices of congregations whose boundaries were carefully laid out and guarded, but of petitions for permission to call ministers as pastors. It is evident that in

the last extract from the minutes, the word "Pennsborough" must have the same meaning throughout, and that this must be the "upper congregation on the Conodoguinet," whose line of division from Hopewell could alone be in question. Of course then we have here a time fixed for the building of its house of worship. The committee which had been sent there (perhaps the Rev. Mr. Black) had fixed upon a location somewhat different from that on which it had actually been built, but in this Presbytery see no serious ground of complaint, as probably it was not very far off and required no adjustment to another congregation's claims. We therefore conclude that, although we have no notice of their elders sitting in Presbytery, but only of "commissioners" as occasion called for special favors, there must have been as early as Aug. 31, 1737, at least three organized congregations on the territory which had once been called "the Conodoguinet"; viz.: Upper Pennsborough, Lower Pennsborough and Hopewell (or Big Spring).

This affair of the boundary between Pennsborough and Hopewell appears to have been more than ordinarily perplexing. Six weeks (Oct. 6, 1737) after the last mentioned action, "upon a supplication of the people of Hopewell presented to Presbytery, after some debating and being put to the vote whether to confirm a former act in reference to the affair or review, it was carried to review; and Andrew Galbraith, William Renox, and William Maxwell with the assistance of Rev. Richard Sanckey* shall review the congregations of Pennsborough

**Rev. R. Sanckey* (or Zanckey) from Ireland, was licensed by Donegal Presbytery Oct. 13, 1736, but censured for plagiarism in his trial pieces;

and Hopewell and give their judgment in reference to the bounds between them at any time before our next, and then make a report in writing." At the next meeting, a little more than a month afterwards (Nov. 17, 1737), a report was made of this "perambulation," according to which in the judgment of the committee "the distance between Pennsborough meeting house and that at the Great Spring is eight miles, and that another road is found to be twelve miles." "After much discourse upon the affair the further consideration of it was deferred until Spring." At the several meetings of Presbytery during the next eighteen months the matter was for various reasons postponed, and even in April 4, 1739, "The desire of the congregation of Pennsborough concerning the fixing of boundaries between them and Hopewell came under consideration, and after much discourse about it, the affair seemed so perplexed on account of several circumstances that the Presbytery deferred their judgment till they should receive further light." No further action indeed appears ever to have been taken on the subject, and it is probable that the congregations practically settled it for themselves.

In the meantime liberal supplies were sent to "Pennsborough," though we are left in doubt what portion of these were for the Upper and what for the Lower congregation. Rev. David Alexander* was appointed Sept.

was sent to Monada Creek in 1737, where he remained until about 1760, when his congregation was broken up by the incursions of the Indians and he removed to Virginia and died near 1786 much respected by his people and his brethren in the ministry. *Webster*, pp. 457—8.

**D. Alexander*, by permission of Donegal Presbytery, was employed at Pequea he having recently come probably from Ireland. He was or-

I, 1737, for one Sabbath, Rev. Richard Sanckey (April 6, 1737) for two Sabbaths in May and two Sabbaths in August, Mr. John Elder* (Oct. 6, 1737) two Sabbaths, and Mr. Samuel Cavin† (Oct. 6) three Sabbaths in October, and Mr. Samuel Thomson four Sabbaths. In

dained and installed at Pequea Oct. 18, 1738. He was a violent New Side man, and claimed the right to intrude into congregations "burdened with a graceless ministry." He was charged with intoxication, and he partially confessed it, but he was not censured for this so much as for disrespect toward the Presbytery. He however sat in Synod and withdrew with the "Brunswick brethren" in 1741. By them he was sent to "the Great Valley" (Shenandoah), after which his course was unknown. *Webster*, pp. 453—4

**John Elder* came to this country probably from Scotland. On application of Donegal Presbytery he came with S. Thomson and S. Cavin from New Castle Presbytery to supply vacancies, and was soon after (Nov. 1737) asked for by the people of Paxton, over whom he was ordained and installed Nov. 22, 1738, Black presiding. He warmly supported the Old Side, and a large party of his people forsook him and united under Roan. On the death of the latter (Oct. 3, 1775), all of Paxton and Derry united in receiving him as their minister. After the reunion he refused to act with Donegal Presbytery and was joined with the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia. For many years he was Captain of the "Paxton Boys," though he resisted their proceedings against the Conestoga Indians. On the formation of the General Assembly he was annexed to the Presbytery of Carlisle. He preached for fifty-six years in the Old Paxton meeting house, two miles above Harrisburgh, and died in July, 1792, aged eighty six. *Webster*, pp. 454—7; *Sprague's Annals*, Vol. III: pp. 77—80.

+*Samuel Cavin* was sent by Donegal Presbytery (Nov. 16, 1737) to Conococheague, embracing Falling Spring (Chambersburgh), Upper West Conococheague (Mercersburgh), East Conococheague (Greencastle), and Lower West Conococheague (Welsh Run). He received a call from the East Side which he accepted and he was ordained and installed there in Nov. 1739. In 1741 he was dismissed from Falling Spring, and one of his congregations being New Side he was much complained of by them. After his dismissal he itinerated in different parts. In 1745 he was settled at Lower Pennsborough (Silvers' Spring) where he remained until his death Nov. 9, 1750. He was buried at Silvers' Spring where his grave now is. *Webster*, pp. 459—60. *Nevins' Churches of the Valley*, pp. 69—70.

April 12, 1738, "supplications were read from both societies of Pennsborough, and after some questions proposed to the commissioners, the Presbytery agree that Mr. Samuel Thomson be their constant supply until its next meeting, and that Mr. Bertram preside in forming a call from that people to him before their next." At the next meeting (Aug. 30, 1738) "a call was presented to Mr. Thomson from the people of the Upper and Lower parts of Pennsborough which he took under consideration; and in the meantime the Presbytery ordered that the people prepare their subscriptions and what they engage as their stipends, and appoint Mr. Thomson as their constant supply until their next."

There appear to have been other reasons for the delay of Mr. Thomson's acceptance of this call and of the Presbytery's deferring its action. Mr. Thomas Craighead had some time before been appointed to spend six months in the three societies of Upper and Lower Pennsborough and at Big Spring in equal portions of time for each. After the presentation of the request for Mr. Thomson's settlement (Aug. 30, 1738), the Presbytery "ordered that the two societies of Pennsborough pay to Mr. Craighead the two-thirds of sixteen pounds for the half year which he was appointed to supply there, and that the people of Mr. Craighead's congregation make up the other third; also that the said congregation pay what arrears they also owe to Mr. Cavin; and that they take care that both of these be done before they can have their minister ordained." At each of the subsequent meetings inquiries were made whether these arrearages

were paid and when they were found unpaid the installation and ordination were deferred. In October (1738) the commissioners from Upper Pennsborough request that Mr. Thomson's trials be hastened and that he be *posed* [i. e. put to the question] as to his acceptance of their call. He then being required accepted of it; but at the next meeting (April 4, 1739), the congregations of Pennsborough were "ordered to pay arrearages to Mr. Craighead and Mr. Cavin against the next meeting or before the appointment of any ordination there." At the succeeding meeting in June 19, 1739, these arrearages were found to be still unpaid, but "the people of Pennsborough by their representatives promised to have all of them paid against the next." In Oct. 9, 1739, they were however found not to be paid, but a representative from Pennsborough "asserted again that the arrears due the estate of the deceased Mr. Craighead shall be sufficiently satisfied when the committee meets to ordain Mr. Thomson. The Presbytery do not understand that the Lower settlement of Pennsborough have fulfilled the order of our last, in reference to Mr. Cavin, and it was agreed that said order be regarded before Mr. Thomson be ordained among them." At last when the committee met for Mr. Thomson's ordination Nov. 14, 1739, these arrears were found in the way, and it was not until Mr. "Daniel Williams appeared and publicly engaged to pay them speedily, viz., the sum of five pounds six shillings and eight pence," and likewise became responsible for what was due to Mr. Cavin from the Lower society, that the proceedings could be entered upon. It would seem to be not altogether a new thing for congregations to

think lightly sometimes of their promises to pay, and for Presbyteries to look upon them more seriously.

We have now reached a period at which the congregation of Upper Pennsborough may be looked upon as fully organized, and it may be well for us to turn our attention more particularly to its people, its location, its social life, and its modes of worship.

We have already intimated that the class of people who formed this settlement, was different from that which had preceded it. They had not been seriously persecuted for their religion, though many of them had suffered some obloquy and inconvenience on account of their non-conformity to the established church. It was rather to *improve* their religious and worldly circumstances that they had sought this new country. Here they were to enjoy entire freedom and equality as Presbyterians and an unobstructed power to enjoy the fruits of their own industry. They are said by one of their descendants of a past generation to have been "men of energy, enterprize, industry and intelligence, being substantial farmers, with capital and resources for improving and extending their farms." They were not roving adventurers, who could easily change their locations at the bidding of every fancied interest or caprice, like some who keep always in the advance of immigration and civilization. They had come to find *homes* and religious organizations, and they were therefore prepared to lay broad and permanent foundations. Their houses and churches and schools were of that solid character which indicates calculation for a distant future as well as for

the present. Their first attempts of course were limited by the necessities of the case, but no sooner were they possessed of means and opportunity than we see in everything they did a wise forecast for coming generations. They were a rural class. They were almost exclusively agriculturalists, and made no calculations for large towns. They laid out no city or town lots, but farms and roads and districts. They clustered near no cities or prospective villages, but near springs and brooks and in valleys.

As a matter of course their habits were suited to the country and to a farmer's life. Whatever their earlier manner of life, necessity here compelled them to take up with the plainest fare and the homeliest ways of common life. Most of them had furniture and apparel such as belonged to the middle classes in their former homes, but for common use they habituated themselves to what could be got in the wilderness. Their first residences were in cabins, built of logs, with clap-board roofs, and puncheon floors, consisting of one or two rooms, in which they contrived to have their entire family life. Their seats and tables and bedsteads were of the rudest kind, such as they were able to contrive and make for themselves, out of materials at hand. "For several years," Rupp tells us, "after this country had been settled, even those in easy circumstances made use of few dishes, plates and spoons made of pewter, and those in ordinary circumstances were content with dishes made of wood or the shells of gourds and squashes, and with other utensils of the scantiest kind. For some thirty or forty

years, bears, wolves, deer, wild cats and panthers abounded in the woods and copse. The otter, muskrat, and other amphibious animals were numerous along the river, the creeks and rivulets. These streams also teemed with fish which were taken in profusion. Thousands of shad came up the Susquehanna and were taken in the Conodoguinet, ten or twelve miles from its mouth, within the recollection of some now living." The ordinary wear of working men, was a loose *waumus*, or hunting frock with trowsers, both made of coarse tow cloth, and shoes or moccasins made of deer-skin. That of the women was a short gown and petticoat of linsey-woolsey with a plain sun-bonnet or hood.* For Sabbath days and other public occasions most of them could afford a somewhat better attire, but even this was commonly of homespun and made in the simplest style in what we now call continental fashion. Their food was almost entirely such as their streams and forests and farms produced, for it was difficult even for the rich to obtain the luxuries which commerce now supplies.

The first objects to which they turned their attention were a home, a school and a house of worship. Of course a shelter from the weather was the first necessity, and then sometimes a greater difficulty arose in furnishing it with the comforts to which they were accustomed. To such people a *home* implied much more than a lodging and an eating place for a family. An almost equal necessity for them was to have it for social enjoy-

**Rupp's Hist. of Cumberland &c., counties, pp. 446—7.* Address of Rev. Thomas Creigh, D. D., at the Presbyterian Reunion, 1874.

ment and religious training. The Bible must be there and the altar of prayer must be erected and the catechism must be recited and the family gatherings for worship must be had. A residence without these would be no home for men and women of such a faith. Accordingly we are assured that seldom was there a family so cramped and hurried or stupefied by hard toil as to neglect these. Even men who professed no religion in its stricter forms, scarcely thought it becoming to live without the common reading of their Bibles and a form of worship. Not unfrequently would be found in the humblest cottages a little shelf on which not only the Bible and the Confession of Faith and the Book of Psalms in metre, but such books as Pilgrim's Progress, Boston's Four-fold State and the Saint's rest, were laid.* Schools of course came in later, but still not at a distant period. As early as 1740 we read of school districts, and of some who were school masters. The latter were not easily obtained but were sought with a carefulness only less than that with which pastors were selected. They were required to be not only intelligent but possessed of sufficient piety to teach the principles of the Calvinistic faith. George Chambers says that "Simultaneous with the organization of congregations was the establishment of school-houses in every neighborhood. In these schools were taught little more than the rudiments of education, of which a part was generally obtained at home. The Bible was the standard daily reader, and the Shorter Catechism was to be recited and

*Dr. Thomas Creigh's address at the Presbyterian Reunion for 1874.

heard by all in the school as a standard exercise on every Saturday morning." It was a disgrace seldom or never encountered even under the privations of a new settlement to be unable to read or write.*

Ministers were often employed in teaching a school, and in any case were expected, as in the old countries to give their attention largely to the instruction of children. Not only were they to see that the Bible was read but that the catechism was learned and recited in every school. At a time and in a region where there were no disagreements among the people on such matters, the worship of God and the catechism received especial honor.

The spot selected for a place of public worship was near the south bank of the Conodoguinet, about two miles west of where Carlisle now stands. It would be convenient for the most eastern as well as the most western of the original settlements. It was equidistant from the North and the South mountains, and the principal trading post was not far off. It was a beautiful place, near a high bluff through which a natural depression opens upon a ford of the stream by which the Indian road passed from one side of the valley to the other. A few rods before this little valley reaches the Conodoguinet, another of a similar character enters it from the southwest, leaving several acres of high level ground between them. On this ground the cemetery was located and still remains in good condition. Tradition has usually placed the church on the eastern side of the road which comes directly from the south, and op-

**Chambers' Scotch and Irish Settlers*, pp. 62, 56.

posite the gate of the present cemetery. But in building the wall of the cemetery a few years since, some dressed stones were thrown out of the ground near the northwest corner, and induced many to think that the church must have been on that spot. As the principal road from town until within a few years, ran diagonally across the lots from southeast to northwest past this cemetery to the Conodoguinet two miles westward, it is possible that the church had its front in this direction. As there were probably few fences, travellers doubtless found their way where most convenient, as they left the main road and chose either of the little valleys which led down to the stream,

Beneath the high bank or bluff, break forth on the shore and on the surface of the stream a number of fountains, some of which play a foot or more into the air in strong columns, and sparkle in every direction. Around one of these on the shore were built massive walls, which formed a basin a few feet wide in which the clear waters played and might be dipped up. A grove of trees was left undisturbed on the high bank in which on pleasant days and on extraordinary occasions when the house was too strait, the congregation were seated for worship, and which on all Sabbath days afforded a pleasant shade for parties that wished to lunch or walk during the intermissions. Such a location reminds one of the fountains and groves which were such favorite resorts for devotion in primitive and mediæval times. The ancient Greek, the Celtic Druid, and some modern Christians appear to have agreed in thinking them

the haunts of spiritual and supernatural beings. Many a naiad, or departed saint, or even divinity was believed to linger with special predilection near some quiet spring. Miraculous powers were often ascribed to such as had been supposed to be connected with the history of these spiritual beings, and many temples and fanes and churches were erected near such spots and consecrated to the memory of a patron saint or deity. The first settlers of this region were among the last to be influenced by such fancies, and yet they may have been influenced by usages of whose origin they knew nothing. A much more common reason doubtless determined their choice. The waters of such springs afforded them a delightful refreshment, and a pure emblem for one of their most beautiful sacraments.

The materials of which the building was constructed were of the same kind with those of their dwellings. There were no mills or stores sufficient to afford an adequate supply of lumber or nails or glass for such a purpose. The walls were composed of logs hewn on the inner and perhaps outer side, united in a peculiar manner at the corners, and with their interstices filled with clay and other substances. The floor and ceiling were of split logs as were also the seats of the worshippers. The doors were at one end and the pulpit on the other end, with windows on the sides and one large window over the pulpit. The men and women occupied separate ranges of seats, and one bench under the pulpit was intended for the clerk who gave out the psalms and the tunes which were to be sung in worship. The elders

also were assigned a seat by themselves where they could see the congregation and attend to the order of the house. The whole building is said to have been low in elevation and not very extensive on the ground. The ground by the side was soon appropriated to the graves of the settlers, whose monuments of native lime or slate stone now give but faint traces of their original lettering. In some instances we recognize figures and emblems which seem like escutcheons or coats of arms. Even those sturdy people, so raised above common pride, appear not to have been regardless of honorable connections.

Here assembled for more than twenty years a congregation of serious and earnest worshippers. They came from great distances, for notwithstanding the influx of settlers, more than half the arable and valuable land in the valley was unoccupied and open to entry as late as 1750. Not more than a thousand families were to be found on the whole territory now occupied by Franklin and Cumberland Counties, and we may conclude that only a small portion of these lived within a convenient distance for worship at Upper Pennsborough. The roads were of course poor and not adapted to carriages. The first public road from Harris' Ferry to the Potomac was laid out in 1735, but was not completed for several years, and most of the travel had to be done on foot or on horse. For miles around and even from beyond the mountains, on Sabbath mornings when ministers were expected, people might be seen in every direction by every bridle and foot-path, wending their way to the

house of God. Not unfrequently they were mounted more than one on a single horse, women on their pillions and children in their fathers' arms. All were in plain but decent attire, feeling that such Sabbaths were high days. After a week of toil, and with few opportunities for intercourse with the great world, it was a delight to come together and look upon each others' faces. Mincing with the purpose of worship, each might indulge in hopes of hearing something from the preacher or from a neighbor of the "dear old countrie" from which most of them came, and which they still called "home." The small sheeted newspaper, or the well filled private letter which any one had received, at such times was shared among them all. But nothing was allowed to divert their thoughts during the season of worship from the service of God. By inheritance as well as by an experience of hardship they were accustomed to subordinate mind and heart to the stern behests of duty. Conscience was the predominant motive in their religion, pleasure and enjoyment were but little regarded. It was not so much tasteful forms and vague moral teachings which they longed for, as energetic and humbling truths, in connection with sure hopes and strong supports. The trials of common life relieved by only a few books and infrequent intercourse with one another, prepared them to relish the strong meat of high doctrine and the plain dealing of honest truth. The discourses, judging from the specimens which have come down to us, were well adapted to such a state of society. They entered freely into public affairs, noticed and commented upon the

news of the day, communicated intelligence as well as criticisms of passing events, but referred all to the overruling sway of a Supreme Ruler without whose permission the counsels of men and devils were powerless. Whatever differences of opinion there might be among the preachers of that period, regarding measures and policy, there was none respecting the doctrines of the church. Every sermon was filled with unmistakable Calvinism, not theoretic and abstract merely, but applied with fearless logic to the minutest affairs of common life. And it would be a great mistake to imagine that such preaching and such a faith were cold or cheerless. It opened the door for the freest mercy, for the fullest forgiveness for sin, and for the firmest assurance of the divine favor. No class of Christians were more confident of acceptance with God, as long as they maintained a walk of faith. The prayers were long and perhaps too didactic for an exercise which ought to be directed mainly to the ear of God. But while they consisted largely of doctrinal formulae in some parts, in others they entered familiarly into all the relations of common life. Every case of serious affliction or even of joyful occurrence in the several families, was expected to be brought forward in the congregational prayer. The singing was confined to the Psalms as they were reduced to metre by Francis Rous with some modifications by a Committee of the Scottish General Assembly. It is astonishing how deeply these Psalms, rough in verse and destitute of melody, took hold of the hearts of those who used them. Much of this was owing doubtless to the fact that they had

the sanctity of divine words and were free from the conceits and arts of high wrought human compositions. The tunes also to which they were sung were equally free from refinement but they had heart and force. The words were "lined out" by couplets, by the clerk or precentor, for in the lack of books, most of the audience were dependent upon the public voice, but perhaps in this way a more general participation in this part of service was secured. We are not surprised therefore that these Sabbath meetings were attended by as many of the people as possible and that they were occasions of special enjoyment. We can understand that the very seriousness and sternness of their worship should have been in harmony with their necessities and habits.

Sometimes, though seldom, an Indian might have been seen in these assemblies. Whether from want of proper efforts or from want of encouraging success, we hear of no conversions among the Indian tribes of this region. This has been sometimes attributed to the special hostility and dislike of the Scotch-Irish race toward the Indians. We find no evidence of this. In no part of the American colonies were the Indian tribes treated with more kindness and consideration than in this valley. Their title to the land as we have seen was sacredly regarded here, for all those complaints of trespass of which we read, had no reference to the settlements of this valley. Though most of the Indian tribes had retired to the West before the influx of settlers here, we occasionally hear of their visits in small companies or by representatives. But neither history nor tradition furnishes a

notice of a single outrage of any kind upon an Indian in this valley during the first twenty years of its settlement. Until the French instigated the Indians to hostility by imaginary wrongs on the part of government, both parties in this valley mingled together in the most friendly manner, hunting in the same woods, fishing in the same streams, contending in the same sports, and contributing to each others' comfort. Under the labors of Brainerd and the Moravian missionaries a little to the North and East, no small success was attained in the conversion of the Indians about this time. But the Shawanees and other Indians who resided in this valley, appear not to have relaxed in their rejection of the white man's religion. They came and went and finally disappeared in the Western wilderness with only a faint recognition of the Great Spirit whom their white brother so poorly served,

Besides these weekly exercises there were sacramental seasons, at least twice a year when special efforts were made to secure a universal attendance. These were usually seasons of great religious festivity but were preceded by a day of fasting and prayer and by one or two days of preparation. In the discourses then preached the consciences of the worshippers were severely searched and the penitent were encouraged by the fullest displays of gospel grace. None were admitted to the Lord's Table but such as gave decided evidence of conversion and of being well instructed in the meaning of the ordinance. Even communicants of long standing were subject to inspection with regard to their

present fitness for the privilege. No one was allowed to present himself until he had obtained a token from the minister or session and deposited it with the officers. These were small medals of some cheap metal which were easily obtained if the applicant maintained a reputable character, or was introduced as such from a sister congregation. On the Sabbath, sometimes the number assembled on such occasions was too large to find accommodation in the church and then if the weather permitted they collected in the neighboring grove. A covered stand was there erected for the ministers, before which the tables were extended along the spaces between the ranges of seats. The ordinance itself was preceded by what was called the "Action sermon" which was commonly long and full of unction. Then followed what was styled "a barring" or "fencing of the tables" in which all who were not subjects of special grace or who had been consciously guilty of any wrong without repentance were warned to abstain from the sacred symbols. While they professed to have no power to judge the heart except from doctrinal knowledge and a life conformed to the letter of the gospel, ministers and elders pressed upon every one's conscience a careful self-examination and a compliance with the claim of "fruits meet for repentance." The communicants then gathered around the tables in successive companies as they found room, and the emblems were distributed by the elders. Each company was welcomed with cheering encouragements and dismissed with earnest admonitions to adorn by their daily lives the doctrine of God their Savior. In spite of

this strict ordeal, so clearly were the evidences of grace presented that most worthy persons found freedom to participate in the ordinance with comfort. On the next day, a meeting was generally held at which the bonds of fellowship and the motives to perseverance in godly living were enforced with much earnestness.

Every baptized person was looked upon as a member of the church and as far as practicable subject to its discipline, though none were entitled to its communion and fellowship who did not give evidence of a competent knowledge and piety. In judging of this evidence however there were differences of views which were the occasion of much trouble. The usages of kindred churches in Scotland and Ireland doubtless had some influence in the reception as worthy communicants of all whose lives were free from scandal, who were orthodox in their religious views, and who complied with ecclesiastical rules. It was thought to be an invasion of the divine prerogative of knowing the heart, when any attempted to inquire minutely into the inward experiences of men. But near the first settlement of this valley many began to feel the need of more carefulness in this matter. It was thought that ministers and private christians ought to have evidence for themselves and capable of description to others of such changes of views and feelings as would prove them to be regenerate and very different from what they once were. It was also thought that many had been admitted to the pulpits and the communion tables of the churches, who knew nothing of religion and had let down the standard of

piety below that of the gospel and even of common morality ; and that it was necessary to require of candidates credible evidence that they had been consciously renewed in heart and had passed through a series of spiritual exercises conformed to a well known evangelical type. The demand for this was strenuously resisted by the great body of the congregation of this period. They believed indeed that a change of heart was indispensable to a proper participation in the Lord's Supper, and that faith and repentance were the only proper evidences of such a change. They were earnest in enforcing this view at every communion season, and required that every communicant should examine himself carefully whether he was at the time in the faith. The church authorities too were at such seasons, as we have seen, strict in their inquiries into the outward life and the doctrinal knowledge of all applicants for communion. But beyond this they opposed every attempt to go. A good certificate of moral character from another church of similar faith and practice, or a well known character at home for sobriety, for religious intelligence, for individual and family religion, and a profession of a determination to live a christian life, were accepted as all which inspired example or charity demanded. Anything further seemed to them an oppression and a presumption which deserved rebuke.

So much difficulty was found with respect to certificates of membership from the churches of the "old

*Protestation of the majority in the Phila. Synod, 1741, in Minutes of Synod, pp. 156—8, note. *Hodge's Const. Hist. of the Pres. Church*, pp. 108—20.

country," that practically they were of but little value unless corroborated by collateral or oral testimony. Large numbers came to this country without securing any credentials of membership, some certificates were subscribed by ecclesiastical authorities notorious for unsoundness, and not a few were negligent and careless of their walk and standing after their arrival here until their credentials were of no value, so that virtually the great body of communicants had to be formed on a profession of their faith.*

But though we have thus a tolerably distinct view of the organization of the original congregation, we have no information respecting its officers and their actual proceedings except what may be found from incidental notices on the minutes of Presbytery. No book of Session or of the board of Trustees, if such ever existed, has come down to us. Up to the time of the removal of the place of worship to Carlisle (about 1758), we have no papers which give us the names of active members. On the minutes of Synod and Presbytery, we have indeed sometimes an enrollment of the names of elders who sat in their meetings, but not often is anything mentioned from which we can determine what congregations they respectively represented. In April, 1738, it appears that the two congregations of Upper and Lower Pennsborough thought themselves strong enough to warrant them in calling a pastor to be settled over them. Each of them had probably come into possession of a glebe at this time, but we have seen that even the

**E. H. Gillett's Hist. of the Pres. Church*, pp. 66-8.

small amounts which were needful to sustain supplies were raised with extreme difficulty.

On the ninth day of April, 1748, there was surveyed and laid out by the Proprietaries "to the Rev. Samuel Thomson clerk, and John McClure yeoman, both of the county of Lancaster, as Trustees for the religious Society of Presbyterians residing in West Pennsborough township," a certain tract of land containing one hundred and twenty acres, and the usual allowance of six acres per cent. for roads and highways. At a meeting of the said Presbyterian Society, it was resolved that four others, viz., Robert Dunning, Esq., John Davis, John Mitchel, and Alexander Sanderson be added to the number of persons to act as Trustees. "Therefore on the 21st day of June, 1749, and the 23d year of the reign of George the Second, for and in consideration of the sum of eighteen pounds, twelve shillings, lawful money (being raised by contribution of and amongst said congregation) to the use of the Proprietaries in hand paid, and of the yearly quitrents which were reserved, there was given, granted, released and confirmed to the said six Trustees, and to their heirs and assigns, the said one hundred and twenty acres, in special trust and confidence that they and their heirs shall stand seized thereof for the sole and only use and benefit of the minister and society of Presbyterians for the time being residing and to reside in the said township of West Pennsborough, for such uses and intents as the majority of the minister and elders, for the time being shall from time to time order and appoint agreeable to the charter of said Society, in

free and common socage by fealty only in lieu of all other services, yielding and paying therefor yearly to the Proprietaries, their heirs and successors," "on the first day of March one half penny sterling for every acre of the same or the value thereof, and in case of non-payment of the same within ninety days after it has become due," it shall be lawful for them, their heirs and successors, "to reenter said land and premises and to hold and possess the same until the said quitrents, arrearages and charges accruing be fully paid and discharged." The patent conveying this title is witnessed by James Hamilton, Esq., Lieut. Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, with the great seal of the State at Philadelphia and entered in the office for recording of deeds for the city and county of Philadelphia in Patent Book A, Vol. 14, p. 186, &c., by C. Brockden, Rec. Secretary. This "Glebe" proved to be not less than one hundred and forty-three acres and thirty-one perches, and consisted of some of the most valuable land in the county. The first pastor at least resided upon it, and it was afterwards rented so as to yield no inconsiderable amount in sustaining the yearly expenses of the congregation.

CHAPTER III.

THOMSON'S PASTORATE.

Mr. Samuel Thomson for whom a call had been made out from the two congregations of Pennsborough (June, 1738), was a licentiate of the Presbytery of New Castle, though he was originally from Ireland. In August, 1737, the Presbytery of Donegal received "a supplication from the congregation of Paxton and a verbal application from the commissioners of Pennsborough desiring the Presbytery to apply to the Presbytery of New Castle for a hearing of Mr. Wilson or some other probationer of their Presbytery." When this application was presented, a general representation was made of the destitution of the congregations in this region, and in response to the appeal the Presbytery of New Castle directed Messrs. John Elder and Samuel Thomson to repair to those congregations and preach under the direction of the Presbytery of Donegal. In November 16, 1737, it is recorded that "Mr. Samuel Thomson, lately from Ireland, having produced credentials and commendatory letters, preached before us, and is directed this evening to converse with Messrs. Thomson, Boyd, Bertram and Black, who are to make a report thereon to-morrow." The next day it is said that, "Pursuant to yesterday's order, the brethren conversed with Mr. Samuel Thomson and

made their report; upon which and some discourse upon it, Mr. Thomson being called in, having declared his willingness to subscribe the Westminster Confession, &c., and having promised subjection to the government and discipline of the church, and of the Presbytery, was received as a probationer and exhorted to diligence in his studies and a behavior suitable to his station and character." Mr. Elder was ordered to supply at Pennsborough three Sabbaths, Mr. Thomson two Sabbaths, and Mr. Samuel Cavin (who at the same time came directly from Ireland) three Sabbaths before the next meeting. At this next meeting, April 12, 1738, "Supplications from both societies of Pennsborcugh being read, after some questions were proposed to the commissioners, the Presbytery agreed that Mr. Samuel Thomson should be their constant supply until the next meeting, and that Mr. Bertram should preside in forming a call from that people to him before the next meeting." Some time in 1737, Benjamin Chambers and Thomas Brown came as commissioners to ask for him at Falling Spring.* In June of that year, "Mr. Bertram reported that he had fulfilled his appointment with respect to Mr. Thomson's call," and the call with a subscription was presented to him by Presbytery (Aug. 30), "which he took under consideration, and in the meantime the Presbytery ordered that that people prepare their subscriptions and what they engage as their stipends; and appoint Mr. Thomson as their constant supply until the next meeting." The acceptance of the call was delayed.

* Webster, Hist. of the Pres. Church in America, p. 461.

for what may seem a long time but no inference unfavorable to Mr. T. is to be made from this. The process of admitting persons to the ministry at that time was in most instances slow, and the trials were often much protracted. But even when these had all been passed through, and calls from a congregation had been presented to the candidate, there were not unfrequently circumstances in the congregation calling him, which were the occasion for delay. In the present case, Presbytery had not less than five meetings after the call had been made out before it was willing to proceed to his installation. Finally when the committee of installation were present and the congregation were convened to take part in it, nothing could be done until one of the people became personally responsible for some arrearages due to former supplies. Both societies of Pennsborough appear to have been equally delinquent. They complain loudly of Presbytery and even of Mr. Thomson for the delay, but very properly the responsibility was thrown on themselves, on account of their failure to settle their accounts. The amount was small, but the principle was important, and we see not how it can be justly disregarded in similar cases. If the non-fulfillment of pecuniary engagements would disqualify a private individual for church privileges, ought it not to be much more reprehensible in a congregation ?

Another difficulty appears to have arisen with respect to Mr. Thomson himself. It was first brought to the attention of Synod, although no notice of it appears on the records of that body. In the minutes of Presbytery

for Sept. 5, 1739, it is recorded that "The Synod last May, having received and read a letter directed to a Mr. Alexander, and subscribed by Mr. Samuel Thomson, which contained some things which were very offensive to the Honorable Proprietor, condemned said letter and committed the further consideration thereof, and what censure should be inflicted on Mr. T. on account of writing said letter to the Presbytery." At the meeting of Presbytery at that date, "Mr. Thomson was called in with several of the people of Pennsborough, when he gave a short narrative of the matter. He acknowledged his imprudence and inadvertency in writing said letter, but professed that the letter was designed to signify not his own thoughts but the thoughts of the people, and that he never expected that the letter would go any farther than the person to whom it was directed. The commissioners from the people of Pennsborough gave in a supplication wherein they took the whole blame on themselves, and declared that they were provoked thereunto by their being credibly informed that some one in authority had threatened to order a constable to pull Mr. T. out of the pulpit on the Sabbath day, and drag him at a horse's tail to Newtown." The Presbytery do not appear to have looked upon Mr. Thomson's agency in this matter as worthy of very severe censure. The minutes of Synod being read, were found to contain no allusion to the matter, so that there was really no one to move responsibly in the case. No order of Synod had come into the hands of Presbytery, and "the Presbytery concluded that it could go no further than to

accept of Mr. Thomson's acknowledgment, and sharply reprove the people for constraining him to write said letter. This conclusion was unanimously agreed to, and Mr. Anderson was appointed to rebuke the people."

On the day appointed for the ordination and installation (Nov. 14, 1739), the Committee of Presbytery consisting of Rev. Messrs. James Anderson of Donegal,* Adam Boyd of Lower Octorara and Pequea,† and Alexander Craighead of Middle Octorara, were present at the house of worship of one of the congregations of Pennsborough. In accordance with the usage on such occasions, "Mr. Anderson at the meeting house door, gave

* *James Anderson* was born in Scotland Nov. 17, 1678, and was ordained by Irvine Presbytery with a view to his settlement in Virginia, but on his arrival there April 22, 1709, he thought the way not open for him, and he was settled for a while at New Castle. About 1716 he took charge of the new Presbyterian congregation at New York city, where he remained until 1726, when he was called and removed to Donegal, Lancaster Co., Pa., where he was installed in August, 1727. He was at the organization of Donegal Presbytery Oct. 11, 1732. He died just before the Schism, July 16, 1740. The Presbytery spoke of him as "high in esteem for circumspection, diligence and faithfulness as a Christian minister." *Webster*, pp. 326—32.

† *Adam Boyd* came from Ireland in 1724 to New England, but joined New Castle Presbytery in July. He was ordained and installed over Octorara and Pequea Oct. 13. He married Oct. 23, a daughter of Rev. Thomas Craighead. He afterwards had the "Forks of Brandywine" added to his charge, but a portion of the Octorara people left him and were formed into the New Side congregation of Middle Octorara under his brother-in-law, Alexander Craighead. At the reunion he was joined to the New Side Presbytery of New Castle for a while, and he seems to have lived harmoniously with them. He died Nov. 23, 1768. On his tombstone at Octorara is engraved, "Forty-four years pastor of this church." "Eminent through life for modest piety, diligence in his office, prudence, equanimity and peace." *Webster*, pp. 384—6. The Craighead Family, p. 53.

public advertisement that if any could advance any lawful objection against Mr. Thomson being set apart to the work of the holy ministry to both societies in this place it should then be presented; and no objection appearing, Mr. Craighead delivered a sermon from Ezek. xxxiii. 6," after which Mr. T. "was set apart to the work of the sacred ministry."

The prospects of the newly settled pastor in his congregation were not altogether cloudless. On the minutes of Presbytery there are frequent allusions to "a spirit of contention and an uncharitable stiffness of temper" among those who professed religion in that day; a spirit "which chose deliberately to sacrifice the peace of Christ's church to their own private interests and humours" (Aug. 29, 1734); "a spirit of contention and wrangling both against ministers (especially their own), and amongst one another; an evil spirit which seems (alas for it!) to have got dreadfully possession of a great many of our persuasion, especially of our own countrymen in these parts" (1740). Great complaints were made also in Synod of the low state of religion, of the neglect of discipline, and of the almost complete obliteration of the distinction between professors of religion and the people of the world. Common morality and social respectability were looked upon as a sufficient badge of church membership, and any inquiry into spiritual exercises was not allowed. Children were admitted to baptism on what was called "the half-way covenant," or on the proof that the parents were baptized, and were speculative receivers of the doctrines of the church.

Preaching became generally a diluted statement of these doctrines ; the Sabbath was spent, after a single service of public worship, in visiting and worldly conversation ; and amusements formerly looked upon as forbidden attained a remarkable popularity. Among the leading persons in the church, all parties were agreed in bewailing this state of things, and seven months after Mr. Thomson's installation, a day of humiliation and prayer (the second Thursday of August, 1740), was appointed in all the congregations of Donegal Presbytery on account of it. A representation of the several causes of grief was attempted by order of Presbytery, and ordered to be read on the morning of that day in each place of worship. There were however some among the ministers and people who were inclined to adopt more radical measures. Rumors reached them of a glorious work of grace in England, Scotland, and in this country. The labors of Whitefield, the Tennants, Edwards, and others awakened hopes that by proper efforts, similar blessings might be obtained in this region. Accordingly they commenced a new style of preaching, praying and other means of grace which for a time was attended with much success, but was accompanied also by some excesses which gave great offense even to serious friends of reform. Ministers intruded into the congregations of other ministers whom they pronounced graceless and unfit for their work, an alarming style of preaching was adopted under which numerous outcries and convulsions were experienced, and a knowledge of the heart was claimed and assumed which was looked upon as pre-

sumptuous and impossible. Some defended this work as a work of God in spite of such excesses, and others denounced it on account of them. A number of ministers set up schools for training a class of ministers of a more spiritual kind and more rapidly, but claiming to give them as high intellectual culture as that possessed by such as came with collegiate honors. Their opponents, with a view of heading off such efforts, passed a vote in Synod that none should be licensed or ordained, who did not bring a diploma from some College, or had passed an examination by a Committee of Synod. Disregarding such a vote and viewing it as a violation of the rights of Presbyteries as well as a blow aimed at the friends of the Revival, one Presbytery proceeded to license and ordain a number of persons who had graduated at their schools. These persons were denied seats in Synod, and when a protestation refusing them a place and affirming other grievances against the friends of the Revival, was sustained by a majority, nearly one-half withdrew, and formed a new Synod. Thus was effected the first great Schism extending from 1741 to 1758. The Philadelphia, or protesting brethren claimed the name of the "Old Side," or the "Old Lights," and the New Brunswick and New York brethren were stigmatized and known generally as the "New Side," or "New Lights."*

Without a reference to this Schism, it would be impossible to understand the state of things which existed in this region and in the congregation of Upper Penns-

* Webster, Chap. VI. pp. 149—181. Gillett, pp. 76—82. Hodge's Const. Hist. of Presbyterian Church, Part II. pp. 124—251.

borough. The congregations of Central and Eastern Pennsylvania were nearly all so "shattered and divided" by these controversies, that "few or none of them or their ministers enjoyed that comfort or success which they otherwise might have had and which they had enjoyed before." Webster informs us, on good authority that "every congregation in Donegal Presbytery was rent asunder," during some period of the Schism. It was not, in this region at least, or to any considerable extent, a doctrinal controversy. All parties were agreed, in a hearty acceptance of the articles of the Westminster Confession and Catechism. The education for the ministry which the Brunswick party advocated was quite equal to that which could be obtained in colleges, and they soon showed a zeal for the erection and endowment of Nassau Hall which their opponents hardly equalled. The difficulty was solely with reference to measures for promoting "the work of God," and the admission of candidates to the communion and the ministry. Nor was it a difference in a desire to revive religion and to return to the better times of the church. The whole Synod were unanimous in sending forth admonitions to their ministers "to consider seriously the weight of their charge, and as they will answer it at the great day of Christ to take care to approve themselves to God," and to churches that they "set about a reformation of the evils by which they had provoked God to forsake them." All the Presbyteries were required "frequently to examine with respect to each of their ministers into their life and conversation, their diligence in their work and

their methods of discharging their ministerial calling. Particularly that each Presbytery do, at least once a year, examine into the manner of each minister's preaching, whether he insists upon the great articles of Christianity, and in the course of his preaching recommends a crucified Savior to his hearers as the only foundation of hope, and the absolute necessity of the omnipotent influences of grace to enable them to accept of this Savior ; whether he does in the most solemn and affecting manner endeavor to convince his hearers of their lost state while unconverted, and put them upon the diligent use of those means necessary to obtain the sanctifying influences of the Spirit of God ; whether he does and how he does discharge his duty towards the young people and children of his congregation in the way of catechising and familiar instruction ; and whether he does and in what manner he does visit his flock and instruct them from house to house." A copy of this order was inserted in the book of each Presbytery, to be read at each meeting, and a record was to be made of a compliance or non-compliance with it. And in Donegal Presbytery at least this was not an empty requirement. It was attended to for many years with great fidelity. Presbyterial visitations of this kind are often recorded and the whole process carefully noticed. By a stated rule, the minister was by himself called before the Presbytery or a Committee, and inquired of how he had performed his duties of preaching, visiting and catechising, how the elders were performing the duties of their office ; and how the people attended upon preaching, hearkened to his word, submitted to dis-

cipline, and performed their engagements to him. He being put forth, the elders were called in, and questioned concerning their minister's doctrine, life, diligence and faithfulness, as to the extent to which they labored in their quarters, and how the people deported themselves toward those who were over them in the Lord. Finally the people were called in to answer by their representatives, when they were asked how the people were satisfied with their minister and with their elders, and how they had performed their stipulations for his support. If either of these three parties presented any cause of complaint or of dissatisfaction, the visiting body proceeded in an authoritative manner to investigate the alleged cause and to remove it or rebuke the offenders. Twice at least during Mr. Thomson's pastorate, such a visitation was made to his congregation and matters of discipline were brought out for investigation.

Such were the social usages which prevailed at this time among the people, that even the best men were exposed to more than ordinary temptations. Those persons especially who were required on account of their employment to hold much intercourse from house to house, were at each stopping place urgently solicited to use intoxicating liquors. The consequence was that men who held public offices in church or state were frequent victims of intemperance. No one can read the ecclesiastical records of that period without being shocked to find how few ministers and elders escaped being at some time overcome by strong drink. Hardly less dangerous were some customs with respect to moral purity.

Some cases of discipline to which they gave prominence we should regard at the present day as founded upon false canonical restrictions. In one instance parties were declared incestuous and their marriage invalid and void because the woman was the daughter of the sister of a former wife of her present husband. In other instances ecclesiastical courts were appealed to, to prevent marriages of mere indiscretion and inexpediency, and much time was consumed in investigations of character with which such courts we should say had nothing to do. Grave proceedings were long protracted in one instance, the issue of which was the censure of a young woman for her "imprudent toying." And yet after all these were set aside, there remain a surprising number of cases in which private members, and even ministers were charged with impure conduct and in too many instances were found to be guilty. Mr. Thomson himself did not escape imputations of this nature, though we are glad to find that he was pronounced entirely innocent by his Presbytery "after a careful investigation of all the evidences on both sides." On another occasion he was with another person "charged by Daniel Williams with a conspiracy to deprive Mr. W. of his claim," and "after hearing all parties Presbytery judged that Mr. Thomson had been guilty of prevaricating with sundry persons at different times in regard to that affair, and he was reproved by order of Presbytery in open meeting for this piece of misconduct."

In November, 1744, Mr. Thomson "requested that on account of bodily weakness his relation to the Lower

settlement (Silvers' Spring) might be dissolved." This request was on the succeeding March (1745) complied with, but Presbytery "recommended to him to be generous and industrious in preaching to that people either on Sabbath or week days, according to his conveniency and their necessity." Mr. Cavin was however soon after invited to supply the congregation of Lower Pennsborough (Silvers' Spring), and "the people of Upper Pennsborough requested that Mr. Thomson might give them the whole of his time, they producing subscriptions for his encouragement which he accepted of and Presbytery concurred in." In Nov., 1749, after a pastorate of precisely ten years he desired "for several reasons and chiefly because he doubted he could not be further useful in the congregation because of unhappy jealousies and disputes," that he might be dismissed from the congregation in this place. After consultation for some time "the people signified through their representatives their willingness that he should be dismissed according to his request. The Presbytery being well acquainted with Mr. Thomson's reasons and having too much ground to believe that he could no longer be useful among them as a gospel minister, judged it expedient to grant him a dismission" at once.

About five years after his settlement at Pennsborough his first wife died, as we learn from the following inscription upon her tombstone still legible in the cemetery at the Meeting House Springs, viz.: "Here lys the body of Janet Thomson, wife of Rev'd. Samuel Thomson who deceased Sept. ⁹ 29, 1744, aged 33 years."

Something like a coat of arms is engraved above this inscription. It would seem that in 1749 Mr. Thomson had thoughts of a second marriage, but on account of some supposed unsuitableness in the proposed connection, the congregation were averse to it, and invited Presbytery to interfere. At the request of the lady's father, "her character was discussed and inquired into, she was censured for imprudence, the congregation was justified in objecting to their minister joining in marriage with her, and Mr. Thomson was approved for his moderation and condescension and for his regard for the interests of religion and the peace of the congregation in deferring his proceedings in what appeared to give occasion of offence." On the whole, Presbytery recommended to him for his own sake and for her sake "entirely to drop his procedure in that which has occasioned so much uneasiness to himself and his congregation and has a visible tendency to mar those great ends." Whether Mr. T. actually followed this counsel or not we are not advised, but we know from traditions in his family, that he was married a second time at some period of his ministry.*

*The latter part of Mr. Thompson's life was spent in the church of Conewago, near Gettysburgh, where he is said to have preached for many years with much acceptance. Before his removal he was a number of times sent as a supply to the new congregations of Virginia. The date of his settlement at Conewago is not given; we are not sure that he was ever installed there. In 1779 he was compelled by the infirmities of age to resign his charge there, when his congregation made provision for his comfortable support. On the reunion of the Synods he was dissatisfied with the arrangement of the Presbyteries, and he seldom attended ecclesiastical meetings. His death took place April 29th, 1787, after a ministry of forty-six years. He left at least one son named William who was sent to England for an education, and who there became an Episco-

It is not difficult for us to understand what were "the unhappy jealousies and disputes," to which Mr. T. alluded in his request for a dismission. He was one of the five ministers who were publicly objected to by the friends of the Revival, and denounced as giving no evidence of fitness for their calling.* In 1742, one year after the Schism, the Brunswick party received supplications from Pennsborough among other places, for supplies, from which we conclude that even then there must have been an organized party of New Side men in his congregation. In compliance with these invitations, Rev. James Campbell was sent to visit among others' named, some people of Mr. Thomson's congregation. John Rowland whose licensure had been objected to by the Philadelphia brethren as being contrary to an order of Synod, was directed next year to follow in his track.†

In spite of all these trials however, the congregation does not appear to have become enfeebled. It was the period of the great immigration into this valley from Ireland. During the whole time between 1736 and 1748, the influx of Irish people was so large that in the latter year the number of taxables in this valley was about eight hundred. By ordinary reckoning this would give a population for the region now embraced in the limits

palian minister, was sent (1750) to America by the "Society for the Propagation of religion in Foreign Parts," and was an itinerant missionary in the neighborhood of Carlisle, where he was eminently useful in distributing aid from Christ's church in Philadelphia among the settlers during the Indian trouble. His remains are said to lie buried in one corner of the public square in Carlisle, and his descendants were recently known among us in connection with the families of Hamilton and Thorne.

* Webster, p. 160.

† Ditto pp. 184s.

of Cumberland and Franklin Counties of not less than four thousand, of which the most thickly settled at that time was probably the vicinity of the Pennsborough meeting houses. The only one of Mr. Thomson's elders whose name has come down to us, is that of Robert McClure, who in 1743 had a seat in Presbytery.

CHAPTER IV.

TWO CONGREGATIONS.

The condition of the church and congregation of Upper Pennsborough at the close of Mr. Thomson's pastorate (1749), may well be considered as deplorable. Not only were there religious dissensions of more than ordinary rancour, but the whole country had begun to be alarmed with rumors of war. The peaceful relations which had existed hitherto with the Indians of this province, began about 1753 to give way. In their efforts to obtain possession of the country north of the Ohio, the French found it for their interest to sow the seeds of hostility among the Indian tribes of Western Pennsylvania, who were not without plausible grounds for dissatisfaction. The famous "Indian walk" in 1733, and the conflicting claims of various tribes, some of which remained unsatisfied, and above all the serious error as to boundaries in the Treaty of 1754, were sufficient to afford motives for resentment. The Indians of

the southern and western part of Pennsylvania found their lands "sold at once from under their feet," by the Six Nations, and they were not inclined to draw distinctions as to the authors of the wrong. They went over without delay to the French and satisfied their claims with blood and plunder. Braddock's defeat in 1753 was the occasion of the first general alarm. The whole country on the frontier lay exposed to the inroads of a merciless foe. Cumberland County was the first object of savage incursions. It is true that for a while the marauders only reached the more distant settlements, and we hear of none coming to the actual precincts of the Pennsborough congregation, and yet the effects of the panic which ensued were almost as terrible as if they had. So horrible was the style of savage warfare, that the report of several massacres and capturings of some settlers beyond the river and the mountains, and in the coves (in 1754—5), was enough to drive the larger portion of the inhabitants of this valley from their homes. Slow and utterly inadequate too was the assistance afforded by the provincial government. The ruling influences were opposed to war of all kinds, apparently forgetful that a peaceful policy can be effectual only when accompanied by a reputation for justice. Rude forts or rather stockades were established at Carlisle and Shippensburg, but they were long unfinished, and poorly manned and supplied.

The town of Carlisle had been laid out the next year after the erection of the County of Cumberland (Jan. 27, 1750). A stockade had been formed there enclos-

ing two acres of ground square, with a blockhouse at each of the four corners. Even at that early period, some abductions had taken place and the need of such a place of security had been felt. In 1753, the conduct of the Indians toward the settlers to the north and west had been sufficiently hostile to awaken alarm, and a garrison was placed at Carlisle. It consisted of only twelve men and the stockade and its buildings were found to be in ruins. There were only five dwelling houses, and the lots were covered with oak and hickory brushwood. A lime kiln stood on the centre square near a deep quarry from which stones were taken for the buildings. In that year another stockade was constructed of oak logs about seventeen feet in length and a foot thick standing upright and set four feet in the ground. Within this were platforms of boards four feet high on which the men could stand and fire through loop-holes when an enemy appeared. At each corner was a swivel-gun which was fired at stated intervals. Three wells were dug also within the fortress on the west of the square on Main street. In this fort (called Fort Louther) the women and children, during the subsequent Indian wars were assembled, while the men in companies went forth to work on their farms. A church which had been built by the New Side people was situated a little south of this stockade, and often served as a kind of bulwark or outpost for the picket guard; and on Sabbath days when the people were assembled, their men came armed and stationed some of their number for sentries. In August, 1755, Col. Armstrong complains that the fort at Carlisle was

still unfinished, but it was manned by not less than fifty men, and was crowded by a multitude of women and children in great destitution from the surrounding region as far as Green Spring. About that time breast-works were erected and entrenchments were opened by Col. Stanwix, a little to the north-east of the town.

The settlers of Cumberland County were at this critical period a living breast-work against the savage foe. At the same time their supply of provisions was liable to failure. It could neither be obtained from over the river nor with any certainty from their own fields. It was almost impossible to cultivate their farms, where each solitary laborer was likely to be shot or carried into captivity; and where the crops were more than usually abundant, they were frequently left to rot on the ground or they were burned with the barns. Every precaution within the power of such men was taken. All able bodied men were organized into military companies, which met together at stated times and on preconcerted signals. Both Presbyterian ministers were captains of such companies and were once or twice called to go on expeditions up the river and over the mountains. The general direction of affairs in this valley was committed by the provincial authorities to Col. John Armstrong, who was almost constantly engaged in journeys and expeditions of some kind. But no vigilance or force could always avail against a foe which might come and go at any moment or in any direction. The want of support and of military supplies from the State authorities was also a serious hindrance. For three years after Gen. Brad-

dock's defeat (1753-6) no effectual measures were taken to protect the frontier. The only method which promised permanent relief appeared to be, to find out and destroy the place to which the enemy resorted for their supplies and for their rendezvous. After much petitioning and labor, Col. Armstrong succeeded (1756) in obtaining from the goverment a party of two hundred and eighty provincials principally from this region, to cross the mountains under his command, and to march nearly two hundred miles through the wilderness to what was believed to be the most important of these villages. The town of Kittanning was situated forty-five miles northeast of Fort Pitt, and one hundred and eighty-six west of Harris' Ferry. It was known that Shingis and Captain Jacobs, two leaders of hostile bands of Indians which had been most active in desolating the frontier, had made this place their home, and that from it their warriors were fitted out and to it brought their prisoners and plunder. It was against this stronghold that Armstrong undertook to conduct his men. It was a perilous enterprise, for if the enemy should become aware of his intention, so long a march would afford numerous places at which he might be surprised, and the horrors of Braddock's massacre be repeated. Such however was the secrecy and skill with which it was conducted, that the town was completely surprised in the midst of extraordinary revels, and was burned at night. Most of the warriors were killed and vast accumulations of ammunition and arms were destroyed. The victors succeeded in reaching their homes with but little loss, but the ef-

fect was decisive in breaking up the organization and power of the enemy. Very few of them were afterwards seen, and they ceased for a time to be a terror to the inhabitants of this valley. It also secured for its leader the admiration and warm friendship of Washington, who more than once afterwards nominated him for responsible positions, and sought his counsel in many critical affairs. In commemoration of the exploit, the authorities of Philadelphia presented him with a medal and pieces of plate, which are now in the possession of his descendants. The next year the expedition of Gen. Forbes completed the work of expelling the Indians from this State and prepared the way for the peace which was concluded at Easton in the autumn of 1758.*

For a time outward tranquility was secured, though it was afterwards found to have been only apparent ; for secret combinations were even then forming which were soon to become more formidable than the previous co-alition.

During those five years (1753—8), in which the people had been subject to such a panic and such hardships, many of them had been slain on their military expeditions and many more had fallen victims to disease and exposure. It was of course impossible to maintain public worship with regularity, especially without the presence of a regular pastor for nearly ten years (1749—58). For our information respecting the congregation we are dependent upon incidental notices. Even the

**Irving's Life of Washington*, Vol. IV, pp. 241—244. MS. Letters of Washington now in the possession of A. Armstrong, Esq. Also *Rupp*, pp. 393—6.

Presbyterial records which have been our help hitherto now fail us, for the second volume which related to this period has been lost. We are therefore left entirely to conjecture respecting this disastrous period. Not improbably the supplies which were usually granted to vacant churches, were sent them but ministers were now extremely scarce and overworked. The supply of them from Ireland had almost entirely ceased during the whole period of the Schism, and the attention of Presbytery and Synod was at this time turned almost exclusively to the South. Some efforts were made by the Presbytery to establish a school of its own for the training of pious youth, even in the midst of such discouraging times, but they seem to have failed or to have been diverted to a more general object.

It is however nearly certain that during a portion of this interval there were two congregations within the bounds of Upper Pennsborough. The mission of Messrs. Campbell and Rowland in 1742—3, which has been referred to, the fact mentioned by Webster that "the congregation of Mr. Thomson was divided during the Revival,"* the further fact that a New Side church was found in Carlisle on the Reunion, would seem to render this more than probable. No reference however is made to such a congregation (or in fact to any other during this period), until 1758, when it is spoken of in the new volume of minutes as being supplied by a preacher. We there find also that each congregation proceeded to call a pastor almost at the same time.†

* Webster, p. 462.

† Webster, p. 484.

The first however in the order of time was by the New Side congregation of Carlisle to the Rev. George Duffield of the Presbytery of New Castle.* He had already attained a high reputation for eloquence and for success in revivals. His extemporaneous powers were remarkable and his discourses were uncommonly rich in evangelical doctrine and practical experience. How long he had been preaching at Carlisle before he received his call cannot be determined, but there are several months previous to that time which cannot otherwise be accounted for, and we find that in Sept., 1757, when his first wife died he was at Carlisle and that she was buried there. He united with the Presbytery of Donegal, April 20, 1759, although he wrote to a friend that he "hardly expected much comfort in it for a while." This apprehension arose from some reports respecting the extreme party prejudices and some apparent threats on the part of its members. It was before the Reunion composed entirely of ministers who had been strongly committed on what was called the Old Side, and these had declared

*He was born at Pequea, Lancaster Co., Pa., Oct. 7, 1732, was educated at Newark, Del., and at Nassau Hall where he graduated in 1752, and was for some time tutor. He became pious and studied theology under the instruction of Dr. Robert Smith, of Pequea, married a daughter of Dr. Samuel Blair, of Fagg's Manor, and three days after (March 11, 1756) was licensed to preach by the New Side Presbytery of New Castle. In the autumn of that year he was sent to supply vacancies in Virginia, and during the next year he preached in some parts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania; in which, especially at Princeton and Fagg's Manor, his labors were attended by remarkable revivals of religion. On the Reunion he joined the Presbytery of Donegal. Near the time of his removal to Carlisle, having lost his first wife, he married (March 5, 1759) Margaret, a sister of General John Armstrong, of Revolutionary memory, the hero of Kittanning, and an Elder of the church there.

that their consciences would never allow them to acquiesce in the examination of candidates on personal experience. At the meeting of Synod in May, three of these members were set off to a new Presbytery in Virginia, and four ministers were taken from the New Side Presbytery of New Castle, in consequence of which the New Side constituted a respectable minority of four to seven. The call of Mr. Duffield was said to have been in existence for some months before that of Mr. Steel from Upper Pennsborough, but it was not laid before Presbytery until the regular meeting of that body Aug. 21, 1759. It was from the congregations of Carlisle and Big Spring, and does not appear at first to determine the amount of time he should give to each of these places. It was immediately put into his hands and accepted by him, when "a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Elder, Steel, Roan and Robert Smith were appointed to install him at Carlisle on the third Wednesday of September, should they find their way clear." This Committee performed the duty assigned them.

Before this, however, the Rev. John Steel* had received

*Mr. John Steel came in 1741, as a probationer from Londonderry Presbytery, Ireland, before the Old Side Presbytery of New Castle, of the Synod of Philadelphia, which, through its Commission next year, asked advice relating to him. He had taken some steps toward marriage in this country, while a promise of marriage was claimed from him by a young woman in Ireland. Before receiving him therefore, letters were written to Ireland, the answers to which appear to have been satisfactory, for in 1743 he was sent as a licentiate to Virginia and Conestoga, and received a call from the people of Conewago, which was declined. The next year the Presbytery reports to Synod that he had been ordained. For a time he was at New London, but somewhere about 1752, he took charge of the two congregations of Upper and Lower West Conococheague

a call from the congregations of Upper and Lower Pennsborough, according to which he was to give two-thirds of his time to the former. It was dated April 20, 1759, and he was installed by a committee before the fifth of June. Until then there had been a cessation of strife for some time, and the union had been acquiesced in with a fair prospect of comfort; but some circumstances connected with Mr. Steel's settlement in Carlisle gave great offence. The arrangements which were then made for his stated preaching in town were regarded as inconsistent with the articles of Reunion, and he was charged with a suspicious secrecy and haste in procuring his call. A letter, not intended for the public, but written confidentially by Mr. Duffield to Rev. John Blair* of Fagg's Manor, containing some reflections

(Mercersburgh and Welsh Run). Here he displayed great intrepidity in leading his people (who chose him for the Captain of one of their companies) against the Indians. His church was fortified for a refuge to the inhabitants, but was finally burnt, and his congregation was broken up. He acquitted himself in these difficult times with such bravery and judgment that he was commissioned by government as a captain of the Provincial troops. For a while he remained unsettled and just before his coming to Pennsborough, preached in Nottingham and then at York and Shrewsbury, Pa.

**Rev. John Blair* was the brother of *Rev. Samuel Blair*, whose daughter Elizabeth Mr. Duffield had married. He had come to America from Ireland, was educated at the Log College under the elder Tennant, was licensed by the Conjunction or New Side Presbytery of New Castle, and soon after the Schism (Dec. 27, 1742), was ordained a pastor over three churches then called Upper and Lower Hopewell, but since styled Big Spring, Middle Spring, and Rocky Spring. He was never connected with Donegal Presbytery, as before the Reunion he was obliged to give up his charges in Cumberland County (Dec. 28, 1748), on account of the hostile incursions of the Indians. In 1757 he succeeded his brother Samuel in the charge of the church and the school at Fagg's Manor, and in 1767 he became Professor of Divinity and Moral Philosophy and officiated

upon his course, fell in some way into Mr. Steel's hands, and was made the subject of complaint in Presbytery. Charges were also preferred by Mr. D. against Mr. S. for "unbrotherly treatment" of him, and for having obtained possession of the letter by improper means. "The Presbytery (May 1, 1760), having heard the grounds of the unhappy differences which had subsisted for some time between Messrs Steel and Duffield, after mature and serious deliberation unanimously agree in the following judgment, viz.: That the grounds on which these differences were built were not sufficient to raise them to such an height as they have come to; and therefore agree that these brethren ought to acknowledge their hearty sorrow for any offence they may have given, and mutually forgive each other as they hope to be forgiven of God, and to study the things that may make for peace, and increase brotherly love and the mutual love of their flocks. The Presbytery however cannot but bear testimony against the writing even to a bosom friend that which may tend to break the peace of the church and reflect on the character of a brother or brethren; and it would likewise bear testimony against the interrupting of letters, or when they are received open against using them for any purpose that may tend to injure the character of a brother or break the peace

as President at Nassau Hall. In May, 1769, he became the pastor of a congregation at Wallkill, N. Y., where he died Dec. 8, 1771, aged about fifty one years. He was the author of many theological and controversial works, and was regarded in his day as one of the most eminent and useful ministers of that period. *Sprague*, Vol. III, pp. 117-19. *Webster*, pp. 48—68. *D. K. Turner's Hist. of Neshaminy Pres. Church*, pp. 38—41.

of society. And further, as when there are no tale-bearers, strife ceaseth, so we judge that not only ministers but every Christian should discountenance and discourage all such persons as enemies to the peace of society and of particular persons. The Presbytery further concluded that if the parties agreed to this judgment, Mr. D. shall have his letter; if they do not accede to the judgment, the Presbytery will keep it in their own hands." Both parties immediately acquiesced in the judgment then expressed.

Complaint also was made against Mr. Steel's people for taking measures to build a house of worship in Carlisle. Mr. Duffield's people had been meeting for some time in that town and they were considerably advanced in the work of building or at least of preparing to build. They therefore resisted the proposals of the people of Upper Pennsborough and in May, 1759, "application was made to the Synod by Messrs. Duffield and Elder for advice to both congregations whether they should erect two meeting houses in Carlisle or one only." After considering the case, the Synod expressed itself as "grieved that there should be a spirit of animosity still subsisting amongst the people, and would be far from encouraging any steps that would tend to perpetuate a divided state; therefore they warmly recommended it to the people of both congregations to fall upon healing measures and lay a plan for the erection of one house only; and enjoined it upon Messrs. Steel and Duffield to unite their counsel and use their influence to bring

about a cordial agreement."* The Synod's well meant efforts were entirely unsuccessful. The next year (1760) a license was obtained from Gov. Hamilton authorizing Mr. Duffield's congregation to raise by lottery "a small sum of money to enable them to build a decent house for the worship of God;" and some years later, the Legislature passed an act to compel "the managers to settle" and the "adventurers to pay; the settlement of the lottery having been for a considerable time deferred by reason of the confusions occasioned by the Indian wars."[†] As early as October, 1759, the Presbytery stood adjourned to meet "at Mr. Steel's meeting house in Carlisle," from which we infer that the people of Upper Pennsborough had already finished a house of worship in that place. Mr. Rupp in his "History of Dauphin, Cumberland, &c. Counties," says (p. 421), that "the congregation in the country then under the care of Rev. Mr. Steel, constructed a two-story house of worship in town" a short time after a church was built there by Mr. Duffield's people. It is difficult to reconcile the accounts which have come down to us. In the above history Mr. Rupp evidently supposes that the house erected by Mr. Duffield's people was the stone church, on the public square, for he subjoins in a note an extract of a letter of Col. John Armstrong, dated "Carlisle, June 30, 1757," in which it is said: "To-morrow we begin to haul stones for the building of a meeting house on the north side of the square; there was no other

*Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia p. 297.

[†]Rupp's Hist. of Cumberland, &c. Counties, p. 421.

convenient place. I have avoided the place you once pitched for a church. The stones are raised out of Col. Stanwix's entrenchments; we will want help in this political as well as religious work." As Col. Armstrong was a zealous elder in Mr. Duffield's congregation and a near relative of Mr. Duffield we might easily infer that the house of worship here spoken of was Mr. Duffield's, but the exact location which the letter gives it is apparently one which belonged to Mr. Steel's people. The only explanation we can give to the facts thus made known to us, is, that at the date of Col. Armstrong's letter Mr. Steel certainly and perhaps Mr. Duffield had not begun to reside in Carlisle, that the commencement alluded to in the letter was by the people in general and was soon abandoned, and that each congregation two years later found another location. Mr. Duffield's place of meeting we know was on the southwest corner of Hanover and Pomfret streets nearly opposite the present Second Presbyterian church; and an uncertain tradition reports that "the two-storied meeting house" of Mr. Steel's people was on lot No. 145, near the northwest corner of Hanover street and Dickinson alley.

Another subject of contention between these congregations referred to the ordination of some of Mr. Steel's elders. At a meeting of Presbytery at Carlisle, Oct. 22d-3d, 1760, Mr. Daniel Williams, who had been recently ordained an elder of the Upper Pennsborough congregation, was challenged on taking his seat, on account of an irregularity in his ordination. It was shown that when he and some others were ordained, they had

not been asked the usual question before the congregation whether they consented to serve and engaged to perform their duties, as ruling elders. The consideration of the question whether this so vitiated the ordination as to destroy its validity, was postponed for six months "that each member of Presbytery might obtain what light he could respecting it." In the meantime Mr. Williams was allowed to sit in Presbytery, "only not to judge or vote in affairs." In April following (1761), "the Presbytery having heard the difficulty in full, after solemn and mature deliberation judged that these elders were so set apart as to authorize them sufficiently to execute the office; though at the same time the Presbytery are heartily sorry that any circumstances usual in our practice on like occasions should be omitted; and hereby recommend it to all its members to guard against every such omission of any circumstance on these occasions as may be improved as a ground of cavil or debate, or lay a stumbling block in the way of weaker professors or give the least handle that our adversary may improve against us. This judgment was approved by a considerable majority;" but Messrs. Roan, R. Smith, Hoge, Duffield and two elders (all the New Side men), resisted it and appealed to Synod. This appeal was in Synod postponed for a number of years, but in 1765, the judgment of Presbytery was substantially affirmed, since it was believed that the elders elected "did actually acquiesce in the election of the people and in their appointment to office, though the consent of persons to undertake the office is ordinarily

necessary to be taken in the face of the congregation."

A still more serious controversy and one which had an important influence upon the interests of the congregation, related to the old question regarding the examination of candidates for licensure and ordination, since the same principles were involved in the examination of private christians for communion, and since the agitation of this question resulted in a temporary withdrawal^t of the minister and congregation of Upper Pennsborough from the jurisdiction of Presbytery and Synod. Scarcely had the Reunion taken place before two candidates for licensure presented themselves before the Presbytery of Donegal, and some of the members began to draw from them a narrative of their religious exercises and experiences, that a judgment might be formed of their spiritual state as the ground of admitting or rejecting them." One article of the plan of union had stipulated that "No Presbytery shall license or ordain any candidate for the ministry until he shall give them a competent satisfaction as to his experimental acquaintance with religion." Now those who had been of the New Side and connected with the New York Synod contended that they had no sufficient method of compliance with this rule but by demanding from the candidate a narrative of his personal experiences, while those of the Old Side who had been connected with the Synod of Philadelphia declared that "they could not in conscience submit to the examination of the hearts or experiences of candidates inasmuch as they esteemed it contrary to the word of God, to common sense, and the uniform practice of Protestant

churches." The case was carried to Synod, where it was the occasion for intense excitement, and for a time the unity of the church was again seriously threatened. After debates had been protracted for three years, Synod came to a decision, first that in^t the article in the plan of union there was no intention to require any particular method of ascertaining a candidate's piety; and secondly, that thereafter "when any person should offer himself as a candidate for the ministry to any Presbytery, every member of the Presbytery may use that way which he in conscience looks upon as proper to obtain a competent satisfaction of the person's experimental acquaintance with religion." This agreement did not satisfy a number of persons, inasmuch as they felt conscientious against allowing any candidates to be subjected to such a test in the body to which they belonged. Among these were Mr. Steel and the elder from his church, Mr. Jonathan Holmes, and other members of Donegal Presbytery. Indeed at a meeting of Presbytery in 1764, Messrs. Elder, Steel, Beard, S. Smith, McMurdie and Tate handed in a paper in^t which they declared that they "had observed that ever since the new modeling of Presbyteries nothing but contention and party spirit had prevailed in their Presbytery, and that they saw little or no probability of matters altering for the better." They therefore declined continuing to be active members of Presbytery until they might receive the advice of Synod. The advice of Synod also appears afterwards equally unsatisfactory to them, and for two years they claimed to be the true Presbytery of

Donegal and declined the jurisdiction of Synod. After many expedients for their relief, they were all in 1768 attached to various Presbyteries of congenial affinities according to their choice. Mr. Steel and his congregation with Messrs. Elder, Tate and McMurdie were attached to the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, with which they remained until either their death or the re-organization of Presbyteries under a General Assembly in 1788.* Contrary as this was to Presbyterian usages, which required that Presbyteries should have territorial boundaries and should embrace all congregations and ministers within a certain district, it seemed the only way to secure peace. It appears also to have been on the whole satisfactory.

Some difficulty was experienced in determining the amount of labour which Mr. Duffield was bound to bestow upon his two congregations respectively. The congregation of Big Spring called for not less than one-half, but the people of Carlisle demanded that two-thirds of his time should be given to them. In case the Big Spring congregation were not satisfied with one-third of their minister's labors, the Carlisle commissioners declared in Presbytery (June 23, 1761), that they would at the next meeting make supplication for the whole. After considering the claims of each party, Presbytery declared that, inasmuch as "Carlisle had not as yet taken up subscriptions for the half of Mr. Duffield's labors, and as they apprehended that Mr. Duffield's constitution would not be able to endure for any length

†Minutes of Synod, pp. 383s.

of time the fatigue of being one-half of his time at Big Spring ; they therefore judged on the whole that his stated labors should be one-third at Big Spring and two-thirds at Carlisle, and that Big Spring shall pay carefully fifty pounds (\$133.30) per annum and Carlisle at least one hundred pounds (\$266.60) per annum, upon the doing of which they shall be entitled to an annual discharge."

In 1763 (April 12), a call was presented before Presbytery from the Second Presbyterian congregation of Philadelphia for his removal to that city. This was the congregation of the celebrated Gilbert Tennant, who had then become old and feeble. Although Tennant presided at the meeting in which the call was voted by a considerable majority, "yet he with the Trustees of the building, objected to the Presbytery considering the call until a question which had sprung up between the Trustees of the congregation and the people could be submitted to arbitration."

The Presbytery of Philadelphia however decided that the call was in order and gave the commissioners leave to prosecute it before the Presbytery of Donegal. When the matter came before the latter Presbytery, it was for some time postponed to give opportunity to Mr. Duffield's congregations to be heard ; but as the next meeting was held at Philadelphia, during the intervals of Synod, the elder from Carlisle declared that he was not authorized by both congregations to speak in their behalf ; nevertheless on being urged to speak according to his light, he assured the Presbytery that both were

unanimously opposed to their pastor's removal. Having heard the reasons which the commissioner presented and finding by conversation with Mr. D. that he was not clear at that time to be dismissed from his charge, Presbytery decided that it "had not clearness to dissolve his pastoral relation." An appeal being taken by the Philadelphia people to Synod, that body declined action, on the ground that "the congregations of Carlisle and Big Spring had not been formally heard before the Presbytery," and therefore the affair was remitted to the Presbytery. At a succeeding meeting of Presbytery (June 29, 1763), both parties were heard, and although the reasons advanced by the Philadelphia commissioners were "confessed to be very strong, yet inasmuch as there was an actual relation between Mr. D. and his congregations, and as Mr. D. still declared that after the most serious consideration of the case he could not obtain clearness in his mind to consent to a dissolution of his pastoral relation as affairs then appeared to him; therefore, from all the light they can obtain, the Presbytery judged that the relation be continued." The matter was dropped for a time, but in 1766, after the death of Gilbert Tennant, Mr. Duffield and Rev. John Strain of Chaceford and Slate Ridge in York County, were invited to become joint pastors, each with a salary of two hundred pounds (\$533.20).* "From a consideration of the condition of Mr. Duffield's present charge, and also the crying necessities and peculiar circumstances of the

* Webster, p. 672, *Sprague's Annals*, Vol. III. p. 188.

numerous vacancies in its bounds," Presbytery could not advise either of these parties "to leave an affectionate people," especially while they expressed themselves not clear to do so. Two years afterwards, the congregation of Big Spring fell so far in arrears in the payment of Mr. Duffield's salary, that Presbytery admonished them, and next year (April 14, 1769), on their continued failure, his pastoral relation to them was dissolved. In August 31 of that year (1769), a call was presented for one-third of Mr. Duffield's time by the newly erected congregation of Monaghan (Dillsburgh), proposing him as compensation fifty pounds (a little more than one hundred and thirty-three dollars). Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the people at Big Spring, who desired "an opportunity to concert some plan to regain that third part of Mr. Duffield's time," Presbytery "saw no valuable end likely to be answered by delay," and therefore put the call into his hands, and on his acceptance of it, he was installed at Monaghan, Nov. 14, 1769. It was at this portion of his charge that he was preaching when he was heard by the late Rev. John McDowell, afterwards Provost of Pennsylvania University, who ascribed his conversion at eight years of age to a sermon he then preached. The text was from Zech. ix: 12. "Turn ye to the strong hold," &c., in illustration of which, the fortifications which had been thrown around the church to defend it against the Indians were freely used for figures to show the safety which sinners may find in Jesus Christ.*

**Sprague's Annals*, Vol. III. p. 187s.

Although the congregation of Lower Pennsborough (Silvers' Spring), had united with that of Upper Pennsborough in calling Mr. Steel in 1758, he does not appear to have been installed there, for in a minute of Presbytery dated April 10, 1764, it is said that "a supplication" was received "from Carlisle and East Pennsborough congregations informing the Presbytery that said congregations have agreed to unite and to enjoy each an equal proportion of Rev. J. Steel's labors; for which they agree to afford him one hundred and fifty pounds (probably in Pennsylvania currency amounting to above \$400.00) annually as a support, and requesting that their agreement should be entered upon the records of Presbytery. The Presbytery approved of the supplication and appointed Rev. J. Elder to attend said congregation and to install the Rev. J. Steel." As Mr. S. had been installed before (1759) in Carlisle, this installation could refer only to Lower Pennsborough. From a promissory note given to Mr. Steel in 1769 by forty-two persons in behalf of that congregation, we learn that "at the union of the congregations of Carlisle and Lower Pennsborough in April, 1764, it had been agreed that each congregation should pay seventy-five pounds (about \$200 in currency of the State), yearly and every year from the time of said union.*

It must be recollected that although peace had been concluded with the Indians at Easton in 1758, and with

*A manuscript subscription now in the hands of Mr. Robert Givin, Esq., and *Nevin's Churches of the Valley*, pp. 327s.

the French in 1762, there was no real tranquility secured for the frontiers until some years afterwards. Scarcely had the settlers ventured to return to their homes and resume the cultivation of their fields, when the brief calm was succeeded by a terrific storm. All the horrors of the earlier period were renewed and increased. With no declaration of war or warning of hostile intention, a secret conspiracy was entered into by nearly all the Indian tribes of the West, for the entire extermination of the white race on the frontiers. With consummate skill and energy, the celebrated Pontiac had prepared for seizing upon all the forts and massacring all the traders of the Northwest in a single day. His plan met with almost complete success, so far as the surprise of the forts and posts was concerned, for at the time agreed upon, only Fort Pitt escaped capture and a large part of the settlements was destroyed. The fugitives, as they rushed into the more eastern villages on the frontier, created a panic, such as perhaps has never been exceeded in our country. Every day tidings came of massacres and burnings nearer home. The upper portion of the county, and the settlements along the Juniata and Susquehanna were one after another desolated, and those who escaped told of barbarities seldom equalled even in savage warfare. Companies were formed for resistance and defence, but no one could tell where to expect such a foe. "The unprotected state of the frontiers consequent on the discharge of the forces of the middle and southern colonies held forth irresistible temptation to the whetted appetite of the border savages

for plunder. Their attack on the inhabitants of the Kitochtinny Valley was appalling. The whole country became the prey of the fierce barbarians. They set fire to houses, barns, corn and hay, and everything that was combustible. The wretched inhabitants whom they surprised at night, at their meals or at their labor in the fields, were slaughtered with the utmost cruelty and barbarity; and those who fled were scarcely more fortunate, overwhelmed by sorrow, without shelter, or means of transportation. Their tardy flight was impeded by fainting women and weeping children."* Most of the inhabitants of the valley fled at once from their homes in the country and gathered in the towns, which were crowded until every hovel and stable was occupied by terrified women and children. The roads were thronged with other crowds flying toward Lancaster, without provisions or needful clothing. The Rev. William Thomson, son of the former pastor of Upper Pennsborough, and now ministering to the Episcopal congregation of Carlisle, went at the head of a body of people over the South Mountain. To increase the sufferings of these people, from exposure and privation, they were attacked by "the small pox and a bloody flux," from which numbers died. The few who ventured to remain and endeavor to harvest their crops of grain, were either slaughtered or compelled to labor with weapons in their hands, and with a vigilant eye upon every point of danger. For not less than three years this state of affairs continued with no other alleviation

* *Gordon's Hist. of Pennsylvania*, pp. 395—8.

than such as use and experience gains. Seven hundred and fifty families abandoned their plantations in this valley, and most of these lost their entire crops, their stock and their furniture; and about two hundred women and children from over the mountains were continually arriving and increasing the general want. "The rich and beautiful Cumberland Valley became the bloodiest battleground we have ever had since the beginning of our American civilization. There the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had been suffered to pour their stream of immigration, in order that they might stand guardsmen for the nation through nearly the whole of a century."* Everything that human valor and judgment could do was done by the leading men, and the people that mustered around them to defend themselves; but without warning and without arms, ammunition, or organization, they were powerless before such a foe. Six hundred and sixty pounds (about \$1760), were generously contributed, invested in provisions and necessaries and sent by Christ church and St. Peters in Philadelphia, for the relief of these sufferers, but this was found quite inadequate to the needed supply and it was said that in Carlisle alone "upwards of two hundred families were in the greatest indigence." On the arrival of Col. Bouquet with troops on his way to Fort Pitt he found that instead of the supplies he had expected for his troops, he was compelled to distribute what he had brought to relieve the necessities of the inhabitants. It was not until that officer had obtained a victory over the savage enemy at

*Dr. A. T. McGill. Centennial Hist. Discourse, 1876, pp. 28—30.

Bushy Run (Aug. 1763), and his return the next year, that confidence and hope was restored to the people.

It could hardly be expected that regular services would be kept up in the several congregations of the valley in the midst of such an excitement. It was said that Mr. Steel for some time was in the habit of preaching with his gun by his side and that Mr. Duffield attained much popularity for his eloquence in addressing soldiers.

For a few years, as might naturally be expected, there was some exasperation and bitterness toward those ruthless foes who had been the authors of so much cruelty and sorrow, and some unjustifiable instances of aggression and retaliation against them are on record. It is however remarkable that every such instance took place beyond the limits of this county. Our people have always been law-abiding, and they well knew that the Indians had been led astray by influences foreign to themselves. No more enlightened and steadfast friends of the Indian have ever stood forth in our nation than some of the people of this valley and their descendants, who were the sufferers from this terrible war. The massacre of the Conestoga Indians was undoubtedly provoked by probable reasons for suspicion, but there is the authority of Rev. J. Elder in whose neighborhood the actors lived, for saying that "not one person of judgment or prudence was concerned in it," and that "it was done by hot-headed, ill-advised persons, most of whom had suffered much in their relations by the ravages committed in the late Indian war;" and Col. Armstrong

wrote that "not one person of the County of Cumberland was consulted or concerned in it."* Some attempts were made to implicate Mr. Duffield and his people in the rescue of two murderers of Indians, while they were awaiting their trial in the jail at Carlisle (in 1768), because Col. Armstrong, Robert Miller, and William Lyon, acting as justices, had thought proper to detain them after the singular order for their transportation to Philadelphia had been given, and so the rioters had had an opportunity to collect and carry off the prisoners; but it was shown that these excellent men were so far from cooperating with the rioters that they imperiled their lives in resisting the crowd. Mr. Duffield published a long vindication of himself and his people from the accusations of their defamers in this matter. What ground he had for believing that he had been thus slandered, he does not inform us, but his vindication was of the easiest and most triumphant kind.† A cousin of his was also concerned (1765), in an expedition in the Southern part of the County (now Franklin) to prevent some traveling merchants from illegally supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition, but it was subsequently ascertained that this relative and his friends proceeded only to earnest remonstrances and took no part in the subsequent violent assault. Indeed it was questionable whether extreme measures were not justifiable in preventing such an unlawful traffic, on the part

**Rupp*, pp. 163—72. *Chambers*, Irish and Scotch Early Settlers of Pa., pp. 71—9.

†*Rupp*, pp. 180—92, 566—71.

of men who had so recently experienced the horrors of savage wars.* In the year 1768, Mr. Steel and others of Cumberland County were appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania, commissioners to visit the Western portion of the State, and require those who had settled on lands not yet purchased from the Indians to remove at once or suffer the extreme penalty of the law. The expedition was unsuccessful, but the commissioners themselves were much commended by all parties for their intrepidity and wise forbearance.†

In 1766 Mr. Duffield and Rev. Charles Beatty were sent on a missionary tour to the Indians of the West, by the appointment of the Synod but at the request and under the direction and support of the Corporation of the Widows Fund. By the terms under which the fund of that Corporation had been raised, it was supposed that they were bound to "send missionaries to the inhabitants of the frontier, to report their distresses, to make known where new congregations were forming, and to suggest what was necessary for the spread of the gospel among them and in the neighborhood." The two ministers were directed to go together on the succeeding first of August "and preach at least two months in those parts, and do what else was best for the advancement of religion in compliance with the instructions of the Corporation." Accordingly they left Carlisle at the time appointed, Beatty passing along the Juniata, and Duffield going through Path Valley, Fannetstown and the

**Chambers, Irish and Scotch Settlers*, pp. 81ss.

†*Ditto*, pp. 132ss.

Great Cove, and both meeting at some point beyond the mountains, and proceeding together as far as Delaware on the Muskingum, about a hundred and thirty miles beyond Pittsburgh. They were obliged to journey on horseback and through a country then almost untraversed by roads and covered by forests. After an absence of about six weeks they returned in safety and an account of their labors was published and extensively circulated in London in 1768. In their report to Synod they say that they found "on the frontiers extensive openings for the spread of the gospel both among the Indians and the white settlers, although both parties were extremely necessitous from the losses of the recent wars."*

*Rev. C. Beatty was from Ireland, and after his arrival in this country for a while traveled as was then common through the States as a trader. In this capacity he stopped at the Log College, and surprised Tennant and the pupils there by proffering his goods and holding a conversation for some time in Latin. On discovering also his religious knowledge Tennant called upon him in the name of the Lord to "sell what he had," and to prepare for the ministry. He "was not disobedient," remained for a time at the Log College, was licensed by the New Brunswick Presbytery, and was ordained Dec. 14, 1743. He was settled for a time at the Forks of Neshaminy, and was chaplain in 1756 to the government forces and in 1759 to Col. Armstrong's regiment. He died in the West Indies in 1772. Rev. C. C. Beatty, D. D., of Steubenville, O., and the wife of Henry R. Wilson, who died a missionary among the Creek Indians, were his grandchildren. Two others of his grandchildren, Mrs. A. E. Pierce, and Erkuries Beatty an elder of the First Presbyterian church of Carlisle, and brevetted Major and Lieutenant Colonel for service in the late civil war, are now living in Carlisle. "Hist. of Neshaminy Pres. Church." by Rev. D. K. Turner, pp. 87—96, 123s.

CHAPTER V.

TWO CONGREGATIONS—CONTINUED.

We have already shown that probably two houses of worship were erected at an early date for the accommodation of the two Presbyterian congregations of Carlisle. We discover from a number of bills of account which still remain, and have come down through the hands of successive treasurers, that in 1768, Mr. Duffield's church was either rebuilt or entirely remodelled. A "new" and an "old meeting-house" are mentioned in those accounts, many new pews, windows, a new pulpit, an entirely new floor and set of pillars are embraced among the items then charged. A subscription of the ladies for the pulpit and its "ornaments" yet remains among other papers, the amount of which was to be transmitted to an agent in Philadelphia for the purchase of articles needed. An account book is also in our hand, kept by John Montgomery, Esq., the treasurer of Mr. Steel's congregation during the process of building the interior of the Stone church on the square. From this it appears that the architect who drew the original plan of the latter church was Robert Smith, of Philadelphia, (the builder of the steeple of Christ Church, and of Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, and many other public edifices

of the olden time), for which he was paid, near the commencement of 1769, five pounds. Numerous entries are made of small sums received from "the Lottery adventurers." A subscription without date reads: "The Presbyterian congregation at Carlisle under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. John Steel, being under the necessity of erecting a house for publick worship, and notwithstanding the said congregation have contributed largely towards building the same, yet part of the work is unfinished, and they are therefore obliged to apply to their friends for assistance." Subscriptions follow of sixty-seven names, many of them of distinguished persons in the political world, among whom are Gov. John Dickinson, Esq. six pounds, Hon Wm. Allen twenty-three pounds, James Allen, Esq. three pounds sixteen shillings, Thomas Willing, Esq. five pounds, and Thomas Mifflin one pound. The subscriptions in all amount to one hundred and thirty-one pounds (or about \$350.00), and payments of these are acknowledged in Montgomery's book on several occasions from July 4, 1773 onwards. From other entries in the same book we infer that the pulpit was not completed nor the house prepared for worship until the early part of the year 1776, over one hundred years ago. And yet we cannot resist the evidence that the building was commenced at the date of Armstrong's letter before noticed (June 30, 1757). Tradition reports that the contractor who engaged to build the walls, failed when he had laid the first "wash stones," and that then the work was for a long time suspended. When constructed, the walls were built of materials

taken from the blue lime-stone rock which underlies so large a portion of the soil, roughly picked and squared, and often of immense size. The proportions of the building are admirable, and its projectors deserve great credit for their science and taste as well as their enterprise in constructing such an edifice in what was then a comparative wilderness. It is a parallelogram of excellent acoustic proportions, and was doubtless intended to be similar to those houses of worship to which the people had been accustomed in European countries. Its doors and windows were arched with white stones taken from a quarry in this County, and then neatly hewn, bevelled and keyed to their places. As soon as the walls and roof were formed we have reason to believe that the house was occupied for worship. It is said that before pews were erected, the people brought their benches, and each family claimed "a sitting" where it had deposited its seat. The floor when completed was of brick, somewhat raised along the outer wall, against which were the square pews of "the quality." Two doors on the south side opened upon two aisles running across the audience room. "The pulpit," Dr. Duffield tells us, "was on the northern side, between two large arched windows which ascended from the lower to the higher part of the wall. A small window immediately in the rear of the pulpit and in the centre of richly paneled wainscot-work afforded light and air to the preacher, over whose head drooped a sounding board, pendant from the ceiling and gracefully ornamented. The pulpit itself was of a size sufficient to hold three

ministers. In front of it, immediately starting from its base, was a "clerk's desk," elevated some eighteen inches or two feet above the tops of the pews, which the precentor occupied, and in which he rose to "line out," or read each line of the psalm, and by his loud sonorous voice lead the vocal praise of the congregation, most of whom took the words from his previous utterance of them, in the absence of books then not abundant nor easily to be obtained. The stairway to the pulpit started from the end and door of the clerk's desk and enclosure, and ascending to a square landing, level with the tops of the pews, turned thence at a right angle, from which two or three steps led into the minister's enclosure as many feet above the precentor's. The pulpit, desk and stairway were all enclosed in a square area into which entrance was had through a door in keeping with, and presenting in front the form and appearance of, the general panel-work of the pews. On either side of this enclosure was a bench like that in the pews, which afforded accommodation for the deaf, the infirm, weak and aged, or such members as received aid from the deacon's fund or had no other place to sit.* The pews on the lower floor were large and square, with seats on all sides and with backs so high as nearly to confine the sight to the pulpit above them. The gallery was not erected for a number of years, but when finished it extended on the eastern, southern and western sides.

*One hundred years ago: An Hist. Discourse delivered by *Rev. G. Duffield*, D. D., during the Centennial celebration of the First Pres. Church of Carlisle, July 1, 1857, pp, 5—6.

At what time services at the church of Upper Pennsborough were given up, we are not informed, but after Mr. Steel's settlement we hear no more of that church. Its cemetery continued to be used by some families and even now receives the remains of those who choose its quiet retreat. The great body of the congregation appear to have acquiesced without objection in the removal to the town. The court house is said to have been occupied by one of the congregations, perhaps for a portion of the time by both, since each minister preached in town only on alternate Sabbaths.

The congregation of Mr. Steel was principally from the country. The whole district in the three directions, northward, eastward and westward, at that time settled almost exclusively by Presbyterians, was embraced in his charge. The number of his members was doubtless large, although for some time they must have been straitened in circumstances. The renting of the Glebe assisted them in the payment of their salary, although many complaints were made of an unprofitable management of it. In the County records is a copy of a deed given by Thomas and Richard Penn, witnessed and sealed by John Penn, then Lieut. Governor, and dated Sept. 20th, 1766, "the sixth year of the reign of King George the Third over Great Britain, &c.," "conveying to William Allen and Adam Hoops of Philadelphia, and John Steel, John Montgomery, Robert Miller, John Byers and John Davis of Carlisle as Trustees appointed by the Presbyterian congregation of Carlisle, a lot of ground 180 by 200 feet, being a remainder of the Centre Square in that town, for

and in consideration of the sum of five shillings, in trust and of intent and purpose that a church or meeting house shall be erected thereon to remain for the use of said society of Presbyterians now residing and hereafter to reside in said town and the environs thereof forever, yielding and paying thereof to us and our heirs and successors every year from the first day of March last five shillings sterling or the value therefor in coin, and in case of non-payment thereof within ninety days after the same shall become due it shall be lawful for us or our receivers to re-enter and to hold the same, &c.; provided always that the said lot or any of it shall never be applied to any private use whatever, nor to the purpose of a burying ground, nor be otherwise enclosed than with handsome posts and a single rail at top in order to keep off carriages from the same; but that it remain forever a site for a church or meetinghouse as aforesaid." We have also in our possession a charter granted by "Thomas Penn and John Penn, Esquires, true and absolute Proprietaries and Governors in chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware." It sets forth that, "Whereas the Society of Presbyterians of the First Presbyterian Church in the Centre Square near the court house in the town of Carlisle" "now under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. John Steel have represented to us that they are subject to great inconveniences for want of being a corporate body in law;" "Wherefore they have prayed us to grant our charter of incorporation to the Committee of said Society: Now Know ye that we favoring the said

prayer, and being moreover desirous to encourage virtue and piety and for other good causes and considerations do by these presents give, grant and declare that the said Committee of the First Presbyterian church, shall be one body, politick and corporate in Deed by the name of the Committee of the First Presbyterian Church in the Town of Carlisle;" "and that by the said name they may have perpetual succession, and get, receive and possess lands, tenements, rents, liberties, franchises and hereditaments to them and their successors in fee simple or for a term of life, lives, years or otherwise; and also goods, chattels and other things of what kind or quality soever which together with the profits arising from the scites and pews of said church shall be considered as the stock and property of the said church—Provided that the real estate of the said corporation shall not at any time exceed the sum of Three Hundred pounds sterling per annum exclusive of the profits arising or to arise from the scites and pews of said church;" "also to give, grant, let and assign the same lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods and chattels excepting the scites of said church and to do and execute all other things about the same;" "and also that it shall be lawful for the said Committee or a majority of them and their successors to make and enact such bye-laws, rules and ordinances as shall and may be necessary for the regulation and government of the said church, provided the same be not inconsistent with or repugnant to the laws of Great Britain or this province and we do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors ordain,

constitute and appoint that the said corporation shall consist of twelve persons with the minister for the time being, to be elected in manner hereafter mentioned, and that for the present it shall consist of the following persons, viz.: John Byers Esq., John Davis, Jonathan Holmes, William Davidson, William Moore, James Smith, James Pollock, Samuel Laird, Gentlemen, and John Montgomery, James Willson, Robert Miller and William Thompson Esquires, who shall continue in office until the first Monday in May which shall be in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-six, at which time the first mentioned four persons of the said corporation shall be out of office and notice shall be published from the pulpit of said church on the two Sundays next before the said first Monday in May of an election to be holden in the said Presbyterian church, of four members of said corporation to be chosen out of the members of said society who hold pews in said church," "and that on the first Monday in May which shall be in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-eight, the like election shall be holden for four others in the room of the next four of the corporation," "and that four persons of said corporation longest in office shall go out every two years forever thereafter and four others shall be so chosen on every first Monday in May, who shall be of the pewholders of the said church and that the said four who shall thus go out of office from time to time shall not be capable of a reelection until after the expiration of two years; and that the qualifications both for

the electors and the elected in said society shall be, that such persons have been at least one year members of said society, and have paid one year's contribution for a pew within the said church, not less than the sum of five shillings, and shall not be in arrear for more than one year's annual contribution: Provided always that the said Corporation shall not engage in any new business or undertaking not authorized by the ordinary usage and practice of said Society whereby the Society may or shall on any one occasion be involved in an expense of Fifteen Pounds or upwards, nor alien nor incumber the real estate of said Society or any part of it without calling together and taking the approbation of the majority of two-thirds of said Society as is herein before directed for the election of members of said Corporation." "In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent and the great seal of our Province of Pennsylvania to be thereunto affixed on this Thirty-first day of December, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c., and in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-three. Witness, John Penn, Esq., one of the Proprietaries and Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties aforesaid, the day and year above mentioned. John Penn." The great Seal is affixed.

This charter has since for various reasons been twice renewed since the Revolution by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. It is impossible now to recover all the

names of those who were elders in the congregation during this period, but we incidentally find from the Presbyterial and Synodical records, acting in that capacity, Daniel Williams, John Byers, James Young, Samuel Laird, John Montgomery, and Jonathan Holmes.

From the contributors mentioned in the Treasurer's account-book we may also form a probable conclusion respecting the names of those who constituted the great body of Mr. Steel's congregation. When we recollect the strong feelings which existed between the two congregations we need not suspect that any names of the one congregation were on the papers of the other. It may be interesting to some at the present day to peruse the following list of them, viz: John Agnew Esq., William and Thomas Alexander, Hon. Wm. Allen Esq., John Allison, Harmanus Alricks Esq., Wm. Bell, Jean Black, Ephraim Blaine, James Brown, Wm. Butler, James Byers, John Byers Esq., George Campbell Esq., Jacob Carl, John Carothers, Wm. Clark, John Cook, Charles Cooper, Margaret Cummins, Geo. and Wm. Davidson, John Davis, Thomas Dickson, Joseph Dobson, John Dunbar, Andrew Duncan, Joseph Elder, Daniel, David and Robert Elliott, Michael Flint, Thomas Forster, James and Robert Galbreath, Joseph Galloway, Andrew and Matthew Gragg, John and William Grier, Andrew Holmes, John Holmes Esq., Jonathan Holmes, Dr. Irvine, John Irvine, James Kenney, Samuel and John Lamb, James and Samuel Laird, John Limbrech, Andrew, Duncan and Richard McAlister, Robert Magaw, Charles McClure, Hugh and Samuel McCor-

mick, Robert McCrea, Robert McFarlane, Andrew McKee, James McKinney, Robert McKinzie, Wm. McNutt, Robert McWhinney, Robert Mahon, James Maxwell, Wm. and Robert Miller, John Montgomery Esq., Edward Morton, Ralph Nailer, James Parker, Robert Peterson, Charles, James and John Pollock, John Rowan, Alexander Scroggs, David Sample Esq., Robert Semple, Robert Shannon, Devereaux Smith, Joseph Spear, Ephraim Steel, John Steel Jun., John Stuart, John Templeton, Capt. Wm. Thomson, John Trindle, Christopher Van Lear, Samuel Wallace, Francis West, James Wilson Esq., James and John Young. We have here in all ninety-five names, and reckoning five persons to each name this would give a congregation of 475 members.

Although Mr. Duffield's place of settlement was so far on the frontiers, he had become one of the most popular preachers of his day, and he received repeated calls to more inviting fields. These he had usually declined under an impression that he was already in the position which needed him most. But after a ministry of not less than twelve or thirteen years at Carlisle, a call for his services was brought before his Presbytery, May 21, 1772, by commissioners from the Third Presbyterian church in Pine street, Philadelphia, which he deemed worthy of serious consideration. At two successive meetings however he declared himself unprepared "either to accept or reject the call," and even at the third (Sept. 8, 1772), he informed the Presbytery "that he had to the utmost of his power labored for light but had not yet attained to such clearness as he

would desire in so weighty a matter, and therefore requested the assistance of his brethren antecedent to giving a final answer." Meanwhile in obedience to the summons of Presbytery Messrs. John McBride, George Brown, William Cocran, Wm Lyon Esq., Wm. Clark, Jonathan Kearsley and Stephen Duncan, from his congregation in Carlisle, and Messrs. Andrew McDowell, James Dill, Robert Stephenson, Joseph Dodds, and Matthew Dill Esq., from the congregation of Monaghan appeared as Commissioners warmly remonstrating against his removal; while Messrs. Alexander Alexander, Robert Knox, Wm. Henry, and John Snowden, were present and offered "two papers, one of them signed by above a hundred persons, the other by six, in the name of the Pine Street congregation, containing a representation of the state and circumstances of that congregation and earnestly urging the Presbytery to do all in its power for their relief." After long deliberation and counsel by his brethren, "Mr. D. was called upon (Sept. 10) to give a final answer, when he delivered to the Moderator a paper declaring his acceptance of said call with this provisional clause, viz.: That in case a city life should tend to further impair his present weak state of health, or any such occurrence fall out in the course of divine providence as might indicate the mind of heaven opening the way for leaving the city, he should be at perfect liberty again to remove from that charge without hindrance or reflection. The commissioners from Pine street, being called and interrogated, whether in the name of said congregation they

were willing to accept Mr. D. as their pastor on the condition specified in this declaration of acceptance, answered in the affirmative. The Presbytery thereupon deeply sensible of the weight and importance of this affair, and much affected with apprehensions of those distressing circumstances which may be expected to attend the removal of a pastor dear to his people and they dear to him, and between whom nothing but love and harmony was found subsisting; sensible also of the difficulty of sparing a useful laborer from this part of our Lord's vineyard—yet after the most diligent attention to the whole complex case, are obliged to approve of Mr. Duffield's acceptance of said call; and therefore we agree in determining that Mr. D. is at liberty to remove to said congregation of Pine Street, now his pastoral charge, as soon as convenient. The Presbytery, however, moved with sympathy, are also obliged to declare the pastoral relation betwixt the Rev. Mr. D. and the congregations of Carlisle and Monaghan dissolved, and these congregations now vacant."

There were reasons for this hesitation beyond the relations of Mr. D. to his people here. The Second Presbytery of Philadelphia to which the Third Church on Pine Street belonged, was composed almost exclusively of ministers and churches whose sympathies had been so warmly with the Old Side in the earlier controversies of the church, that they were unwilling to unite with the existing Presbyteries, and hence they had been formed into a separate Presbytery, though they resided on territory at a great distance apart and mingled with

other bodies. Four (Messrs. Elder, Steel, Tate and McMurdie), out of the eight ministers then connected with it, had been formerly a part of Donegal Presbytery and had been involved in several conflicts with Mr. Duffield. And now when leave was asked from this Presbytery by the Pine Street congregation to prosecute their call before Donegal Presbytery, there were sufficient irregularities and difficulties to afford them a plausible reason for refusal. All the elders of the Pine Street congregation had not only declined subscribing the call, but had solemnly cautioned the congregation against the whole proceeding; the call itself had never been read to the people nor made out at a public meeting, but had been handed about and signed by the people separately; and a small but respectable minority of the people were opposed to it. The ground on which the minority and Session ostensibly based their opposition was not their personal dislike of Mr. D. or his principles, but the peculiar relations of the Pine Street congregation to the First church in Market Street. In virtue of a compact between these two congregations their ministers were to preach in rotation at the two houses, and in case of a vacancy in either, a new pastor was not to be chosen by the one church without the concurrence of the other, or at least the vacant church should study to choose a minister who should be generally agreeable to a majority of the members of each house; yet in the present case the Market Street congregation had not been consulted but had by their commissioners remonstrated against the call. To this it was added that the rights

of property were liable to be jeopardized by a settlement under such circumstances, and that the interests of the Market Street people would be much affected without their consent. When the case came up by appeal before the Synod in 1772, these objections of the Session of Pine Street and the Second Presbytery were overruled on the ground that the will of the people of Pine Street was sufficiently apparent in spite of some unusual irregularities, that the previous compact of the two congregations was not such as to affect any rights of property or moral obligations in the circumstances, and certainly should not be allowed to impair the proper independence of congregations, and that the opposition of the Session and minority was really based upon grounds which ought to have no consideration. The judgment of the Second Presbytery was therefore reversed by a great majority, and the third church was allowed to prosecute their call.*

On receiving his call from the Presbytery of Donegal, Mr. D. repaired to Philadelphia, but was even then met by the Second Presbytery with a refusal to receive him as a member, and by a prohibition from that body to preach in the Third church. On coming to his church on the Sabbath (Sept. 27, 1772) he found the doors closed and locked against him by order of the First church who claimed jurisdiction over the house, although a large crowd were waiting on the outside to hear him. An entrance was effected by the officers of the Pine Street congregation, and the services were

*Minutes of Synod, pp. 433—5.

gone through with in the usual manner, but in the evening he was again interrupted by a magistrate entering in, reading the riot act and commanding the people to disperse. The magistrate was forthwith seized by one of the congregation and carried out of the house and ordered not to disturb the orderly worship of God. The next day Mr. D. was arrested for aiding and abetting a riot, and he refused all bail on the ground of asserting the rights of himself and his people, to freedom of worship. In some way the necessity of his prosecution was evaded, and he was allowed henceforth to proceed in his ministrations.* Next year (May 25, 1773), Mr. D. complained in Synod that the Second Presbytery "had by one of their members obstructed his entrance into a church under their care to which he had accepted a call, and had also refused to receive him as a member, although he was dismissed from and recommended by the Presbytery of Donegal;" and a petition and remonstrance was received from the incorporated committee of the Presbyterian churches of Market and Pine Streets, "setting forth that Mr. D., by the assistance of a part of the congregation of Pine Street, had taken forcible possession of their church in Pine Street, and praying for such relief as the nature of the case required." After a full hearing of both parties, "the Synod judged that Mr. D. had just cause of complaint against the conduct and judgment of the Second Philadelphia Presbytery, who ought to have admitted him to membership with them and allowed him a fair trial;

**Sprague's Annals*. Vol. III. p. 189.

wherefore we now declare him to be the minister of the Pine Street or Third Presbyterian congregation; and order that he be put upon the list of the aforesaid Presbytery." The commissioners of the incorporated committee then withdrew their petition from the bar of Synod for the reason that their cause had been evidently prejudged, and "the Synod therefore finding no accusers of Mr. D. acquitted him of all the charges contained in the aforesaid petition and remonstrance." By their own request "Mr. Duffield and the congregation of Pine Street were set off from the Second Presbytery and were annexed to and put under the care of the First Philadelphia Presbytery."*

As a specimen of the remembrance in which Mr. D. was held by his former acquaintance in the West, we may mention that when it was reported that the King's government were threatening to imprison him for the riot above alluded to, the "Paxton Boys" assembled and resolved to hold themselves in readiness to march a hundred miles or more to set him at liberty. Mr. D. continued the pastor of the Third church until his death which took place Feb. 2, 1790, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. With all the ardor of his nature he threw himself into the struggle for his country's freedom. He was chosen the chaplain of the Continental Congress, and when Philadelphia was in possession of the British forces, he followed the American army, in which he did much by his eloquent appeals to sustain the courage of the soldiers. A price was set upon his life by the Brit-

*Minutes of Synod, pp. 448s. *Sprague's Annals* p. 190.

ish authorities. He was a man of slight frame and small stature, but capable of much endurance. Sometimes he was reduced to great extremities during the revolutionary struggle, but his faith never failed. His devotions were very fervent, and some answers to his prayers were very striking. He took a prominent part in the new organization of the Presbyterian church, of which he was the first Stated Clerk. Some manuscript sermons of his remain, none of which however are written out in full, as he left much to the inspiration of the delivery. He received the honorary degree of a Doctor in Divinity from Yale College in 1785. By his second marriage he left two sons, the youngest of whom was Registrar and Comptroller General of Pa., and the father of Rev. Geo. Duffield, D. D.

One year (Nov. 11, 1773) after Mr. Duffield's dismission an effort was made by his former congregation in Carlisle to obtain his restoration to them but without success. He however often revisited them and sat as a correspondent with his earlier associates in Presbytery. Most of his Carlisle congregation had been converted and admitted to communion under his ministry, in the midst of powerful revivals of religion. He had been a strict disciplinarian, and yet had gained for himself the enthusiastic attachment of his people. Even at this early day he had won some distinction as a Whig and a supporter of the Colonial rights against governmental oppression, and this had nearly as much to do with the opposition to his induction to the Pine Street church as his more pronounced New Side proclivities.

The loss of such a man at such a time to the congregation of Carlisle seemed irreparable. There were almost universal complaints of the low state of religion in every part of the country. In 1769 the Synod speak of "the prevalence of irreligion and immorality, and the lamentable decay of vital piety;" in 1772 of "the low state of vital and practical religion, and the great prevalence of vice and infidelity;" and in 1778 of "the lamentable decay of vital piety for which we have had so much reason to mourn for several years past." The Presbytery of Donegal at its meeting in 1771 adopted the same language. Doubtless the strong language used must be construed with reference to the high standard of religion and morality according to which this estimate was made, but we have other evidence that the description here given is not too highly colored. The people too were scarcely recovered from the effects of their recent Indian depredations, and already they began to be agitated by those civil disputes which were soon to result in a separation from the parent country. Some efforts were made during the subsequent years for obtaining another minister, but they were entirely unsuccessful. Supplies were regularly supplicated for and granted, at least once each month, and especially for the administration of sealing ordinances, but we have evidence that the congregation never again enjoyed the services of a stated minister.

We are not informed of the precise time, but not long after the removal of Mr. Duffield, the house of worship in which he had preached in Carlisle was consumed by fire. Family tradition reports that while the people

were blasting rocks in the street near by, some of the fuse was thrown upon the roof and communicated the flame. For some time the congregation worshipped in a room of the Court House. The bell in this Court House was said to be the gift of a sister of Wm. Penn, who resided at Carlisle, England, and it is also said that she stood by when it was cast and threw in a few silver coins under an impression that this would give it a better quality of sound. There being no steeple to the church it was hung on a cupola of the neighboring Court House, with the understanding that it should serve for the courts on week days and for the church in all religious services. Unfortunately it was melted down and lost when the Court House was burned many years since. Another and better one supplies its place, but the historic associations are gone.*

Among the elders who officiated in Mr. Duffield's congregation we find the names of General John Armstrong, Jonathan Kearsley, John McClure, James Carothers, Geo. Brown and James McBride. Others unquestionably acted in that capacity, but we have no authentic testimony with respect to them. The first of these was one of the most influential men of this region. He came to this country from Ireland some time before 1748, and was active in laying out the town, surveying the lands, planning the public buildings, commanding the troops and strengthening the defences in the Indian wars. He was under the proprietary government a justice of the peace and much trusted as a counsellor and

*Centennial Discourse, and Manuscript Letters of Dr. Duffield.

executive officer for the whole frontier. To him was ascribed the plan and the accomplishment of the expedition to Kittanning, which has been before noticed. Three years later (1758), he served in the advanced division under Col. Bouquet in the expedition against Fort Duquesne. He was active in the early movements which brought on the war for Independence, and in that war itself rose to the rank of a Major General in command of the Pennsylvania troops. At the recommendation of General Washington, with whom he was in constant and confidential correspondence until the time of his death, he was twice sent to Congress. In his religious views he was a decided Christian, strictly orthodox, and fervent in his practical duties. He appears frequently as a delegate of his church in the Presbytery and Synod, and was entrusted by those bodies with a prominent part in their proceedings. George Chambers says of him, "He was a man of intelligence, of integrity, and of high religious and moral character. He was resolute and brave, and though living habitually in the fear of the Lord, he feared not the face of man." His epitaph in the old cemetery of Carlisle says he "was eminently distinguished for patriotism, valor and piety, and departed this life March 9, 1795, aged 75 years."* Of the other members of Session, whose names we have given, we know nothing further than that they had at different times a seat in Presbytery.

Less is known respecting the other congregation under Mr. Steel, on account of its having no connection

*Men of Mark of Cumberland County, 1776—1876, by Alfred Nevin, D. D., Phila., pp. 75—79.

with the Presbytery of Donegal, and in consequence of distance having seldom any part in the proceedings of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia and of the Synod. It appears to have been composed principally of the old church in the neighborhood of town, but it was strong, and though not favored with powerful revivals had a continual increase of communicants by more gradual processes. It was more affected by the Indian wars in consequence of the more exposed residences of its members, and yet it does not seem to have intermitted its regular salary to its pastor, of one-half of One Hundred and Fifty pounds (about \$400), per annum. Mr. Steel himself was possessed of a competent independence, and was able to loan his congregation one hundred pounds (about \$266), for some years while they were building their house of worship. He was often entrusted with commissions from those in authority, for though a clergyman, his well known intrepidity and good judgment recommended him for any difficult service. In 1768, he not only fulfilled the commission with which he was entrusted by Gov. John Penn to remove settlers from lands in the Western part of the State not open for sale, of which mention has been made before, but he assisted the Justices of the County in endeavoring to restrain certain rioters from over the mountain who were rescuing two men in the jail in Carlisle confined for murdering Indians. With a party of men he pursued after them, but he was not strong enough to recover the prisoners.*

* *Rupp, Hist. of Cumberland County, &c., pp. 182—3.*

During the pendency of measures for asserting the rights of the colonies against the British government, both congregations sympathized ardently with the patriots. All the traditions and hereditary spirit of their race were against every form of governmental oppression. The first news of the Boston massacre and the closing of the ports of Massachusetts, aroused the whole population of this County as one man. A meeting of "freeholders and freemen from the several townships," was called on Tuesday, the 12th day of July, 1774, in the First Presbyterian church, and John Montgomery Esq., an elder of that congregation was chosen to preside over it. Resolutions were adopted, alleging that Boston was suffering in the common cause of all the colonies, that every prudent measure ought to be adopted for redress for the past and security for the future, that a Congress of deputies was indispensable for this purpose, that the colonies ought to unite in refusing to import any merchandize from Great Britain or her dependencies, that one committee ought at once to be appointed to correspond with similar committees of other provinces, and another to act as deputies from this County in an assembly of the provinces to meet in Philadelphia. Nor were the people unprepared as the storm came nearer. Next year (May, 1775), a County Committee was organized, three thousand men were associated, five hundred men were taken into pay and drafted, to be armed and disciplined and marched on the first emergency; and for this the County was drawn upon by a tax on all estates real and personal for twenty-

seven thousand pounds. In a letter from the Committee of the County to the President of Congress next year, July 14, it is said: "We think ourselves warranted to say that we shall be able to send five companies, viz.: one from each battalion to compose part of the flying camp, provided so many good arms can be had; and three companies of militia for the present emergency, some of whom will march this week. With pleasure we assure you that a noble spirit appears amongst the inhabitants here. The spirit of marching to the defence of our country is so prevalent in this town that we shall not have left men sufficient to mount guard, which we think absolutely necessary for the safety of the inhabitants and ammunition, and as a watch over the ten English officers with their ten servants to keep their patrol of honor, especially as their brethren lately at Lebanon in Lancaster county lost it, and as there will not be more left in town for the above purpose we shall be obliged to hire a guard of twelve men from the county." Two weeks afterwards they write: "Eleven companies will be sufficiently armed and accoutred and the last of them marched from this place in about a week from this time. Three companies more are preparing if they can get arms, and many more declare themselves willing to march; but we are well assured arms are not to be got in this County. If arms and accoutrements are to be had at Philadelphia, we can send more men." Two weeks later (Aug. 16), they give notice: "The twelfth company of our militia are marched to-day, containing in the whole 833 privates, with officers nearly 900 men.

Six companies more are collecting arms and are preparing to march.* The leading company in this battalion of July, 1776, had for its captain the Rev. John Steel, whose experience as a captain of rangers was now of value, but whose age would hardly permit him to serve for the whole war.† On the previous March (17, 1776), Col. Robert Magaw started with a battalion which was addressed in an eloquent and patriotic spirit by Rev. Wm. Linn of Newville,|| and he was soon afterwards heard of in the command of Fort Washington on the Hudson. It was there that being threatened by Lord Howe with extremities he sent the brave reply, that he doubted whether that officer would execute a threat "so unworthy of himself and the British nation; but give me leave," added he, "to assure your Excellency that actuated by the most glorious cause that mankind ever fought in, I am determined to defend this post to the very last extremity." Next day however he was over-powered and compelled to surrender himself and his men as prisoners of war.‡ Another of these leaders was Wm. Irvine recently (1764) from Enniskillen, Ireland, and for ten years a physician in Carlisle. He had been a member of the Pennsylvania Convention, but was appointed by Congress (Jan. 10th, 1776) a Colonel and ordered to Canada where he was taken prisoner. As soon as he could effect an exchange (April, 1778) he resumed

*Amer. Archives, in *Chambers*, pp. 100—1.

†*Chambers*, p. 103.

||Sermon of *Rev. Wm. Linn* in Amer. Volunteer, March 16, 1876.

‡*Irving's Life of Washington*, Vol. II, p. 419.

the command of his regiment, was a member of the court martial which tried Gen. Charles Lee, was made brigadier general in 1779, acted under Gen. Wayne at Bull's Ferry, and in the autumn of 1781 was ordered to Fort Pitt to take the command of the troops on the western frontier until the close of the war (1783). He was afterwards honored with a seat in the Constitutional Convention and in Congress during several terms, and with the command of the Pennsylvania troops in quelling the "Whiskey Insurrection," and finally removed to Philadelphia in 1801, and died there July 30, 1804. He had also two brothers, Capt. Andrew Irvine of Wayne's brigade, and Dr. Matthew Irvine of Lee's famous legion; and three sons, Gen. Callender Irvine, Commissary, Col. Wm. N. Irvine and Capt. Armstrong Irvine, all of whom distinguished themselves in the revolutionary war.* Then there was Ephraim Blaine, who entered the army as a colonel at the commencement of the war, but was subsequently made Commissary General, and was with Washington, whose unlimited confidence he enjoyed, during the "dark winter" at Valley Forge; and by his exertions and sacrifices was the means of saving the American army.† It would however take too much space to mention the services of such men as Col. John Montgomery, an elder in Mr. Steel's congregation, Col. Robert Callender, Col. William Thomson, Lieut. Col. Watts, and majors and captains and subalterns too numerous to be reckoned up, while the soldiers in the rank

**Appleton's New Amer. Encyclop.*, Vol. IX, pp. 616—17.

†*Ditto*, Vol. III, p. 322.

and file nearly equaled in number the taxables of the district. In the civil service we must not overlook James Wilson Esq., who was originally from Scotland, but who after studying law, settled at Carlisle where he became eminent in his profession, sat in the Provincial Convention in 1774, and in the Continental Congress (1775—77). While he was in the latter body, he received instruction from his constituents in Cumberland County to advocate an entire separation from the mother country. This was probably among the first utterances of that sentiment in this country. The Provincial Convention had directed their delegates to oppose and vote against any such proposition. The inhabitants of this County soon after met together and petitioned the Assembly that such instructions "might be withdrawn." Their petition was presented May 28, 1776, and after a long and excited debate, in view of the altered situation of affairs, the restriction was withdrawn, and in June the Convention declared its willingness to vote for independence. When the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress received these renewed instructions, two absented themselves, two still refused to concur in the vote for independence, and with two others who voted for it Wilson gave his deciding vote. On the 2d of August, 1776, when the Pennsylvania delegates affixed their signatures to the Declaration which had been passed July 4th, James Wilson was among the promptest signers. In November of that year he was appointed by Congress on the Executive Committee charged with full powers to carry on the whole business of the war. He soon after-

wards obtained a Colonel's commission, was a member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution and of the State Convention which adopted it, was one of the first Judges of the Supreme Court appointed by Washington, was professor of law in the University of Pennsylvania, and died at Edenton, N. C. Aug 28, 1798.*

As these men were nearly all connected with the Presbyterian congregations in Carlisle, their history is essential to the history of that people. Political and patriotic feeling at that time swallowed up everything else. It was no small part of the religious life of the best men. Indeed we have evidence that both congregations were unable to maintain ordinary public worship during the exciting periods of the Revolutionary war. The only minister who could conduct their services, Mr. Steel, was now much advanced in years. He was not allowed to witness the termination of the contest in which he was so much interested. In the middle of it and when its clouds were darkest, he was called to his rest (Aug. 1779) after a ministry of thirty-seven years, and a pastorate in this congregation of twenty. He was a good preacher, a sound divine and a useful citizen. His manuscript sermons (many of which remained in the possession of his grandson, Robert Givin Esq., but were unfortunately consumed in the burning of the house of the latter a few years since), exhibited much neatness in chirography, great care in preparation, and diligence and copiousness in composition.

**Appleton's N. Am. Cycl.* Vol. XVI. p. 458.

CHAPTER VI.

DR. DAVIDSON'S PASTORATE.

For more than five years the church vacated by the death of Mr. Steel remained without a pastor. By the terms of the Synodical act which had in 1768 annexed Mr. S. and his congregation to the Second Presbytery, as soon as that congregation should become vacant it was to revert to the Presbytery within which it should be territorially located.* It now came under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Donegal, and for some years both congregations in Carlisle regularly made "supplication" for, and received the supplies usually granted to vacant congregations. Work was still going on at intervals upon the Stone church, which remained for some time incomplete. It is possible that this was the period, which is spoken of in some accounts, when both congregations worshipped alternately in the Court House.† When the congregations united some years afterward, that building is spoken of as "the new meeting house," having reference doubtless not to the outer walls and frame but to the interior portion.

It was at this time that the attention of the people was directed to the establishment of an institution of learn-

*Minutes of Synod, pp. 383s.

†Manuscript Letters of Dr. Duffield.

ing. Much had been done before this in behalf of classical schools in different parts of the land. Nassau Hall had grown out of the union of several such schools, and Donegal Presbytery reports one year, that Five Hundred Pounds had been subscribed for the endowment of a professorship in that institution. A classical school had been for years maintained under the charge of Rev. Dr. Francis Alison, and after his removal to Philadelphia, of Rev. Alexander McDowall, but which subsequently gave rise to Newark Academy and Delaware College.* On the establishment of the Academy at Philadelphia which afterwards grew into the University of Pennsylvania, a number of gentleman who had been active in its commencement took umbrage at some of the proceedings of the Legislature with reference to it, and began to agitate for the establishment of another. Among these was Dr. Rush who had been a professor in the Philadelphia Institution. His zeal and eloquence soon enlisted such men as Gov. John Dickinson, Wm. Bingham Esq., and Henry Hill Esq., in his enterprize, and a sum of money was secured by donations from them and other friends which seemed to warrant the obtaining of a charter and the purchase of ground. The donation and support which Gov. Dickinson at once gave, induced all with one consent to give his name to the projected College.† It has been suspected that such a movement was really premature and was the suggestion of private feeling, since the two institutions already spoken of in New Jer-

**Hodge's Const. Hist.*, pp. 260—70.

†*Life of Nisbet*, by Dr. Samuel Miller pp. 101—2, 119.

sey and Philadelphia were as much as the wants of education and the pecuniary strength of this region demanded. It must be conceded that the number of students and the amount of funds contributed for all its institutions on this territory do not indicate an already awakened and adequate interest in such an object. All three institutions were unquestionably in a feeble condition for some time, and it is possible that one of them might have been adequate to the work of them all. But the final success of such an effort is itself evidence that there was wisdom in its origin. It is difficult now to decide who were the principal movers of the enterprise here. John Montgomery is sometimes spoken of as if he were the soul of it in this region, and the public spirit and intelligence of the man would warrant the claim. He was certainly during his whole subsequent life, a member of the board of Trustees, and prominent especially in the contrivance, the location and the erection of its buildings. But equally certain is it that nothing of that kind could have gone forward at this period without the ardent sympathy and cooperation, if not the controlling influence, of Gen. John Armstrong. His education, his wealth and political and social position made him the first man to be consulted, and gave his opinions the highest influence in all questions of general interest in church or state. Both of these men were among the original corporators and for a short time in the absence of Gov. Dickinson acted as Presidents of the Board. The clergy and other literary men however in the neighborhood of Carlisle did not at first see either the wisdom,

or the practicability of establishing the new Institution.* But the unwearied persuasion of Dr. Rush, and the promises of a number of wealthy persons in Philadelphia, who lent their names and pledged their purses, at length removed every difficulty. A charter was soon obtained, according to which forty persons, including most of the ministers and intelligent laymen of the Presbyterian connection in Eastern Pennsylvania, were incorporated as its trustees. With entire unanimity every eye was turned to Carlisle as the proper location for the College.† Philadelphia was preoccupied by the University; and the strongest and most compact body of Presbyterians in America was then and was likely to be for some time in this region. Carlisle was indeed a small town, consisting of not more than two thousand inhabitants, with scarcely even a regular line of stages to connect it with the more commercial parts of the country. But it had a high reputation for intelligence and enterprize, and an elevated moral and social character, which were looked upon as indispensable to such an institution. Confident expectations were also entertained that for a small consideration the United States government would be willing to part with the land and buildings which had been occupied for military purposes in its neighborhood.

While pursuing his medical education in Edinburgh, a number of years before, Dr. Rush had become acquainted with Dr. Charles Nisbet, the pastor of a church

**Miller's Life of Nisbet*, p. 102.

†Hist. Sketch of Dickinson College by *Prof. Caldwell* in Amer. Quart. Register for November, 1836, p. 118.

at Montrose, but who often visited the capital and was there one of a brilliant circle of literary wits.* Encouraged by the success of the Eastern people in obtaining Dr. Witherspoon for Nassau Hall, he now thought of Dr. Nisbet as the most likely man to take the charge of the College at Carlisle. It was well known that Dr. Nisbet had shown a decided partiality to American institutions during the late revolutionary contest, and it was believed that his heart and name might be enlisted for the new enterprize. No sooner therefore had affairs begun to assume a hopeful and definite shape, than at a meeting of the Board of Trustees April 8, 1784, Dr. Nisbet was elected the Principal of the College, not only with entire unanimity but with warmth and enthusiasm.† The cautious spirit of Dickinson did indeed afterwards waver not in behalf of Dr. Nisbet, but with respect to the timeliness of the effort, and hence he at one period wrote to that excellent man in a less hopeful and a more deprecatory strain,|| but the more ardent spirit of his fellow-workers was finally successful in obtaining a favorable decision. After many conflicts and wavering, Dr. Nisbet accepted of his appointment, landed at Philadelphia June 9, 1785, and after nearly a month's tarrying with Dr. Rush, reached Carlisle on the day the inhabitants were celebrating their national independence. The committee which had conveyed him from Philadelphia were met before entering the town by a deputation of citizens, and a troop of horse escorted him into the borough

*Miller's Life of Nisbet, p. 101. Note.

†Ditto, p. 101.

||Ditto, pp. 123—5.

amid the ringing of bells and the gratulations of the citizens. On the next day the oath of office was administered, after which he delivered his inaugural discourse from Acts vii: 22, and entered upon his duties as the head of the institution.*

Some time before the affairs of the College had taken a prosperous turn, "a petition from the First congregation of Carlisle was brought into the Presbytery of Donegal and read, requesting liberty to present a call to the Rev. Robert Davidson, a member of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia." In 1763, when he was but twenty-two years of age, he had been appointed a teacher in his Alma Mater, the University of Pennsylvania, and soon after a Professor of History there, and an assistant to Dr. Ewing in charge of the First Presbyterian church of Philadelphia. In these offices he had attained a high reputation for learning and piety,† and he had been called upon to serve on some of the most important committees of the Synod. He belonged to the same Presbytery with which Mr. Steel had been connected, and had doubtless in this way become known to the congregation. It does not appear however that he formally accepted of the call until after his connection with Dickinson College and his consequent removal to Carlisle. Under date of April 12, 1785, the minutes of Presbytery say: "The Rev. Dr. Davidson, having accepted a call from the First congregation of Carlisle and

*Miller's Life of Nisbet, pp. 137—8.

†Ditto, p. 115. Sprague's Annals, Vol. III, pp. 323—5.

now having settled in that place, produced a certificate of his dismission from the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia and applied to be received as a member. He is accordingly received and takes his seat." John Montgomery, the elder from that congregation, "requested that some persons might be appointed to install Dr. Davidson, and Mr. Robert Laing and Samuel Waugh were appointed to do that service on Wednesday the 27th inst." On taking leave of the University, the Trustees showed their appreciation of his merits by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

The preceding year (Nov. 1, 1784), he had been chosen a "Professor of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics pro tempore" in Dickinson College. This appears to have been a provisional arrangement, until a more formal distribution of the professorships might be made when the Institution should become more settled. In the mean time he was called upon to act as the real head of the College until the arrival of its Principal. In truth scarcely had Dr. Nisbet commenced his labors, before he and several members of his family were attacked by a severe and protracted illness. From this acclimating process the Doctor suffered for a number of months and was rendered wholly unfit for active effort either bodily or mental. He was at the same time disappointed in his attempts to induce the Trustees to enter upon some of his schemes which he deemed essential to the success of the Institution; so that as the effect of the whole he became discouraged, and on the 18th of October following his arrival (1785), sent in his resignation and determined

to return to Scotland.* Reluctantly and only when this resolution seemed irrevocable, his resignation was accepted and Dr. Davidson was invited to occupy his place. Encumbered at the same time by the charge of a large congregation, these duties were found to be especially oppressive. But it was not long before the health of Dr. Nisbet was restored, and circumstances opened to him a more cheerful prospect. An immediate return to Scotland being impracticable, it became necessary for him to remain in Carlisle until the ensuing Spring, when under the influence of his altered feelings he expressed his willingness to resume his position. Accordingly he was unanimously reelected May 10, 1786, and immediately resumed the duties of his office. The climate appears ever afterwards to have been congenial to him and his family, and his health was never again seriously interrupted until the illness which, many years afterward, occasioned his death. Permission was obtained to occupy the buildings which the Government had used for military purposes near the town, and for three or four years Dr. Nisbet resided and gave lectures there. Some of the students also had possession of the barracks and found them very convenient for their purposes.† Nine were graduated in 1787, and still larger numbers each successive year, until the whole list of graduates during the eight years of Dr. Nisbet's presidency amounted to one hundred and seventy-five. This included a number of theological students to whom he gave extra theolog-

**Miller's Life of Nisbet*, pp. 138s. *Caldwell's Hist. Sketch*, p. 120.

†Personal recollections of an aged lawyer of Carlisle.

ical lectures a part of the time, and who afterwards became distinguished in the church.

It was some time before the arrival of Dr. Nisbet, during the Autumn of 1784, or the Spring of 1785, that proceedings were entered upon for the union of the two Presbyterian congregations of Carlisle. "A committee was appointed by the congregation lately under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Duffield, which proposed the following terms of union to the congregation under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Davidson, viz.:

1. That Dr. Nisbet receive an invitation from the congregations when united to preach alternately or one-half the time with Dr. Davidson in the new meetinghouse.
2. That a salary be assigned to Dr. Nisbet at the discretion of the whole society, so long as he may continue to preach to us, and that no part of Dr. Davidson's salary be abridged in consequence of this union.
3. That such of the members of the congregation late Mr. Duffield's as shall subscribe to the present agreement, pay the price set or to be set on such seats as shall be allotted to them and such proportional assessments as may be required to be laid on all the seats from time to time for further repairs to the house.
4. That the subscribing members of the congregation late under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Duffield pay their annual pew-money to such collectors as the united congregation shall appoint, to be deposited in the hands of one Treasurer.
5. That on the removal of either Dr. Nisbet or Dr. Davidson by death or otherwise, a successor shall be

called or invited by the united society as much to the satisfaction of the whole as can be obtained.

6. That immediately on the agreement of these proposals and the ratification thereof by the members of the two congregations, the members of the congregation late under the charge of Mr. Duffield possess an interest in the new building and glebe and be entitled to an equal enjoyment and participation of all privileges civil and religious with the members of the congregation now under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Davidson. And that the lots now in possession of the congregation late Mr. Duffield's be considered and shall become the common property of the united society, to be disposed of in such way and manner as they or a majority of them may judge to be most expedient."

This instrument is in the hand writing of Gen. John Armstrong, and was probably accepted. It is however without date and without any direct evidence of being received. But about the same time a subscription was gotten up, the original of which still remains, and of which the following is a copy : "We do hereby severally promise and engage to pay to John Creigh (or his successor), appointed treasurer by the managers, for erecting a gallery and finishing the Presbyterian church in Carlisle the sums annexed to our names respectively for the purpose of finishing said church. Witness our hands. Note: The highest subscriber to have the first choice in the pews to be disposed of, and each subscriber to have an interest in the church." The amount raised by this subscription was Four Hundred and Fourteen Pounds (or

nearly \$1100), all of which was afterwards collected and applied to the object mentioned in the subscription. As this is the best indication of the persons and families who composed the congregation of the late Mr. Duffield, and which was now added to that formerly given of Mr. Steel's (now Dr. Davidson's) congregation, it may be interesting to their descendants to peruse it. It is therefore here given: Samuel and Thomas Alexander, John Armstrong, Catharine Bean, Wm. Blair, James Brown, Thomas Brysland, Andrew Calhoun, James Corathers, Thomas Craighead, Thomas Creigh, Wm. Denney, Stephen Duncan, Thomas Duncan, Wm. Eakin, Wm. Fleming, Thomas Grier, Dr. Lemuel Gustine, James Hamilton Esq., Christian Harper, John Hunter, Col. Sam'l Irvine, Benjamin Kidd, John Laird, Samuel Laird Esq., David Lindsay, Abram Loghridge, George Logue, Col. Samuel Lyon, Wm. Lyon Esq., Charles McClure, Samuel A. McCoskry, George McGunigle, Alexander McKeehan, Wm. McPherson, Norris Morrison, John Montgomery (painter), John Officer, Alexander Parker, John Patton, John Pollock, Samuel Postlethwaite, James Ross, James Rowney, Jacob Singer, James Stuart, Thomas Smith, Alexander Thomson, Joseph Thornburgh, Gris sel Uri, James Wallace, Wm. Wallace, John Water, David White, Nathanael Weakley, and John Wray. It must not be supposed that these were all even of the heads of families in that congregation, for various reasons may be assigned why not every one of these contributed to such an object. We miss the names of some even of the elders and prominent men of that congrega-

tion, although we have no reason to think any of them were unfriendly to the union.

On the arrival of Dr. Nisbet it was agreed according to the above arrangement, that he should alternate in preaching with Dr. Davidson. The pastoral work of the congregation was devolved upon the latter. On the installation of Dr. Davidson preaching had been appointed in his church once every Sabbath, and after this arrangement with Dr. Nisbet two sermons were to be given, one in the morning and one in the afternoon of each Sabbath.* This was a great reform upon those habits of the people which had gradually been contracted during the unsettled period of the war. Sixty pounds (about \$160), were to be paid to Dr. Nisbet and two hundred (about \$533), to Dr. Davidson. These sums had they been punctually paid would have been, in addition to the sums agreed upon by the Trustees of College, a tolerable provision in those times for the comfort of both. Unfortunately however the depreciation of currency and the extreme embarrassments of the commercial world rendered it difficult for both these parties to fulfil their engagements. In a few years they fell in arrears to the amount of nearly three whole years of salary, and when the number of students became on one occasion small, the salary of Dr. Nisbet in the college was reduced from \$1200 to \$800, and that of Dr. Davidson in an equal proportion.*

It was not long before a permanent location was ob-

*Miller's Life of Nisbet, p. 175.

†Ditto, pp. 207s.

tained for the College. When Government had resolved to turn the buildings and grounds in its possession into a station for cavalry training, a lot was purchased near Bedford Street between Pomfret and Liberty alley (Lot 219), which has ever since been appropriated to educational purposes. Here for some time the College had its rooms and prospered until July 25, 1799, when John and Richard Penn conveyed to the Trustees of Dickinson College, in consideration of one hundred and fifty-one dollars and fifty cents, paid by them, seven acres and forty perches of ground, being one square bounded by what were then called Allen Street on the East, the public highway leading to Shippensburg on the South, the commons on the West, and Louther Street on the North. These ample grounds were soon built upon and have ever since been in the possession of the College. The condition of the town was then quite different from that in which it now is. Only that portion which is embraced within the four streets East, West, North and South, were laid out into lots and occupied by purchasers. All that portion beyond these streets and now within the borough limits had been at an early day purchased from the original owners by the Proprietaries and had been opened as commons. It was understood by many that they had given a promise (verbal though not written), that this whole tract should remain forever an open ground for the benefit of the poor. At the time we now speak of (before 1798), this entire district was unsettled, and even large portions of the town which had been laid out were not built upon. Such was particu-

larly the case with the southwestern and northwestern portions, on which only one or two buildings were to be seen. The streets were not graded, and two or three ridges of ground ran athwart the streets and lots (one from near the present Second Presbyterian church north-eastwardly to Louther street near the Letort, another across Pitt street near John Noble's late residence, and another across North Street at Mr. Shapley's late residence), giving with the intervalled low grounds opportunity for a varied traveling experience. There are persons now living who can remember teams and stages floundering in the mire or laboring up ascents in our streets, a deep lime-kiln and a pond of water on our public Square, and wide, unenclosed and unoccupied commons on three sides of the town.

During the last three years of the last century some lots were added to the town and the commons were enclosed, so that the borough attained the limits which it now has. This created great excitement on the part of some, who contended that it was an encroachment on the rights of the poor to have those commons for the pastureage of their cattle. The lots were however disposed of, and among others the seven acres and a third which have since formed the "campus" of Dickinson College.*

The Stone church received its repairs and completion before the twenty-second of March, 1786, when seats were assigned to the members of the united congregation. It naturally followed that the new comers from

**Rupp*, pp. 388s. The deed of the College ground is still in existence and is I believe in the possession of Dr. *J. A. Murray*.

the Duffield congregation would find accommodation in the part which had been just finished. This accounts for the fact which many now recollect, that some of the best portion had their pews for many years in the gallery. The two preachers alternated on Sabbath mornings and afternoons, and both took part in communion services. Neither were distinguished for oratorical graces, and in fact these were little in demand. The spirit and habit of the people gave them a far higher relish for stores of information and earnest discussion, and it was in these that both their "pastor" and their "doctor" abounded. The copiousness with which the latter especially poured forth his treasures seemed to know no ordinary limit. He was always full and ready to speak, and truth came from him always well arranged. It is said that in compliance with the desires of his hearers kindly but intelligibly expressed, he confined his discourses to an hour's length so rigidly that the arrival of the assigned limit would arrest him sometimes in the middle of a sentence. Dr. Davidson was not so ready in utterance for he never trusted himself to speak without his manuscript, but in well prepared discourses, he was equally affluent in learning and historical illustrations.* On him however devolved the whole work of pastoral visitation, and the instruction of the children. Scrupulously neat in dress and careful in all personal habits he moved among his people a pattern of what he inculcated. Tender hearted and sincerely believing in the stern doctrines of his church as to the sinfulness and

**Sprague's Annals*, Vol. III. p. 325.

danger of those out of Christ, his appeals to them in and out of the pulpit were said to have been uncommonly affecting. His punctuality and faithfulness in his weekly appointments for catechising the different classes of the youth, for preaching in remote parts of his congregation and for visiting the sick, were equally the theme of praise. And yet many recount with peculiar glee the sympathy with which he entered into the amusements of the young, attending their little parties and even arranging those parts for them which a stricter rule has more recently proscribed. Attached to the most rigidly orthodox party in the church and receiving without hesitation every part of their doctrinal system, he nevertheless was not embarrassed by his faith in Christ as the sole foundation of all hope and in the great covenant of redemption, when strenuously insisting upon the necessity of works of righteousness and a life of moral purity and benevolence ; and while omitting no doctrine essential to salvation, he seldom attempted to discuss the incomprehensible mysteries which belong only to God.*

Under the ministrations of two such men, we might expect that the people would become intelligent and perhaps numerous. In fact we are informed that many came from a distance and took up their residence here to enjoy the literary and religious privileges of the place. No small number of the ministers and the distinguished professional men of a succeeding generation in this region ; had their intellectual and moral training here. In

*A sermon on the death of Rev. Robert Davidson, D. D., preached in the Pres. Church in Carlisle, Feb. 28, 1813, by the Rev. Robert Cathcart.

proportion to the number of graduates from College, and the amount of population, it is remarkable that so large a portion became distinguished in the church, at the bar, and in political life. During the heated conflicts which took place about 1787, not only in this town but in every part of the land with respect to the new Constitution, there were some disturbances, but our principal citizens always put themselves on the side of order and law. They belonged indeed almost exclusively to the party which was called Federal or Constitutional, and hence they were in some instances exposed to popular misunderstandings and opposition. In 1792 the ministers and leading men of the congregation were obliged to pass through an especially trying ordeal during the progress of what was called the "Whiskey Rebellion." When the Federal Government agreed to assume the payment of the debts which the several States had contracted for the War of Independence, by the advice of Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, provision was made (1791) for raising the needful money by a tax on imported spirits and an excise on whiskey. Our people were not then familiar with such imposts, and as this was a measure urged by the Federalists, much odium was thrown upon it by their opponents. Large amounts of property were also invested in the manufacture of whiskey especially in those portions of this State where much grain was raised which could not easily be taken to market in its original form. By manufacturing it into whiskey they were able to transport it in a cheaper and more salable state. There were 5000

public and private distilleries in this State in 1790, and many of these were in Cumberland County. The tax was very unpopular among those interested in the manufacture and use of ardent spirits, as many people then were. In spite of the submission to the law which was commended by the great majority of orderly citizens, not a few sympathized with the insurrection, goaded on by selfish interests, party spirit and the scarcely concealed encouragement of some high in office. An association of men calling themselves "Sons of Liberty," had been formed throughout the country, a branch of which was strong in this County. Some public demonstrations had been made and a liberty pole had been erected in the Public Square. In consultation with the friends of law and order, the two ministers and the Session of the Presbyterian church came to the conclusion that religion ought to utter its voice distinctly in behalf of public authority. Washington had just issued his proclamation (Sept. 15, 1792), warning all persons to desist from unlawful combinations and proceedings, and commanding all insurgents to disperse and submit. Fifteen thousand volunteers were called for, and Pennsylvania had raised her quota and was concentrating her forces in this vicinity. On the morning of a certain Sabbath in the midst of this excitement, Dr. Davidson preached a temperate discourse on the duty of the people to express their views only in a constitutional way and in the mean time to submit to the powers that be. Although not acceptable to a large portion of his audience, his discourse gave no serious offence. But when in the after-

noon Dr. Nisbet spoke from I Thessalonians IV: 11, and enforced with warmth and some sarcastic tartness the duty of men's being quiet and minding their own business and working with their own hands in their common occupations, and showed that all were not fitted to be legislators and philosophers, many of his hearers felt insulted and exclaimed that "such doctrine did not suit this side of the Atlantic." A few days afterwards many of the disaffected ones came to town from the adjacent country, erected "a liberty pole" in the Public Square and for a day or two held sway in the town, and it was feared that Dr. Nisbet's house would be assailed by a mob. In truth a company of the insurgents were actually on their way to assault his residence, and were diverted only by being informed that his daughter was lying there very ill, and that an attack on his dwelling under such circumstances might endanger her life.*

In October of the same year (1794), several thousand troops were assembled at Carlisle on their way to the expected scene of conflict in the western part of this State. On Wednesday evening (Oct. 1st), Gov. Mifflin of Pennsylvania, who for a while had scruples about using military coercion, but who had now thrown himself heartily into the work of putting down the "rebellion," delivered an animated address to a large assembly in the Presbyterian church. On Saturday the fourth, President Washington accompanied by his Secretary, Hamilton, with over three thousand soldiers, and several Senators and Representatives, arrived and formed an imposing display

*Life of Nisbet, by Dr. Samuel Miller, pp. 228s.

of force and moral power. On the next day, these distinguished dignitaries listened to the patriotic discourses of the ministers who were highly complimented for their loyalty. For nearly two weeks Washington held his quarters here, and was the guest of his confidential friend, Gen. John Armstrong. On Monday the 6th he was addressed by the principal citizens, in a written discourse expressive of their loyalty and confidence; to which he replied with much feeling in a similar manner. On the 10th the Pennsylvania troops with Col. Blaine and others proceeded to the West, and Washington went South toward Bedford, where he arranged a plan of military operations for his generals and returned to Philadelphia. Within a month's time this disgraceful disturbance, among the first of those exhibitions which the liquor interest has since so often made of its disregard of law or public welfare, was put down without the effusion of blood.*

In May, 1792, the Fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church under its new Constitution was convened in Carlisle. Some Western Presbyteries had become wearied of the long journeys to Philadelphia and had requested that the Assembly might be held "in the West." Carlisle had therefore been selected, with the view also of witnessing and encouraging the College which had now become distinguished.† It was on this occasion that Dr. Nisbet invited a large company of mem-

* Irving's Life of Washington, Vol. V, pp. 209—14. Rupp's Hist. pp. 408—10. Miller's Life of Nisbet, pp. 207—9.

† Gillett's Hist. p. 270. Note.

bers to dine with him, and Dr. Ashbel Green, who was one of them and the Stated Clerk of the Assembly, says that "the party was received and treated in a handsome style ; and at its close the Doctor indulged his witty and satirical vein beyond anything I had before witnessed. At other times it had broken out by flashes, with distinct intermissions ; but it now blazed forth in a coruscation, with only fitful abatements for more than an hour."* It was this Assembly which was presided over by Dr. John King of Mercersburgh, and which also consummated the plan of correspondence which so long continued with the New England churches. Gen. Armstrong was a member of this Assembly and also of that which sat in Philadelphia the year before. As the number of ministers of the whole church was on that year only about 200, and as every six ministers were entitled to a representation by one minister and one elder, the entire Assembly could have been composed of not more than seventy-five members. The Seventh Assembly also met three years later (1795) in Carlisle and was presided over by Dr. John McKnight, most of whose life was spent in Carlisle Presbytery, but who was then colleague pastor with Dr. Rodgers over the United Presbyterian congregation of New York.†

**Miller's Life of Nisbet*, p. 317.

†It was about this time that measures were taken to secure a History of each church under the care of the Gen. Assembly. The order was sent down in 1793, and in 1795, Donegal Pres. reports that all its members had complied with the order. In 1801 Dr. Davidson was appointed by that Pres. "to draw up a short history of the Presbytery of Carlisle from its rise to the present time," and at the next meeting Dr. D. brought in such a history, which was read and approved and directed to be sent

By an act of the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania passed August 26, 1786, "Robert Miller, John Armstrong, Wm. Moore, Thomas Craighead, Wm. Lyon, George Davidson, James Irvine, John Agnew, Rev. Robert Davidson, John Montgomery, Samuel A. McCoskry and Samuel Laird and their successors duly elected and appointed," were "made and constituted a corporation and body politic in law and in fact to have continuance forever by the name, style and title of the Trustees of the Presbyterian church in the Borough of Carlisle." In the preamble to this act however it is said that in a petition to the House, the members of that church had "represented that said church was incorporated by a charter obtained under the former government; which charter has become void by reason that the members of said congregation being some years destitute of a pastor neglected to choose trustees on the day required by said charter." Whether this earlier charter had been of the congregation under the care of Mr. Steel or of that under the care of Mr. Duffield is not determined by the words used. The terms of the new act are of the most liberal character and fully provide against a forfeiture like that by which the former had become invalid.*

At the first communion under Dr. Davidson in June, 1785, twenty-four persons were added on a profession of their faith.† It was seldom that such a season passed

forward by the Commissioners to the Gen. Assembly." It is much to be regretted that no copy of this history is known to be in existence.

*Printed copy of the charter.

†MS. Memorandum Book kept by Dr. D. and now in possession of Session.

at which additions were not made to the body of communicants. The baptism of children was almost universal to the entire population, inasmuch as all denominations of Christians who had organizations in Carlisle, believed in and held especially dear this rite. The Episcopalians had been organized about 1765, the German Reformed and Evangelical Lutheran churches near the same time, the Methodist church soon after the Revolution, and the Associate Presbyterian in 1798. Dr. Davidson believed that all persons who had themselves been baptized and had a general faith in the Christian system had a right to present their children in baptism and he was therefore accustomed to administer that interesting rite to nearly all who desired it. Lectures were freely preached in every part of his extensive parish, and catechetical classes were held every Saturday in some neighborhood, but prayer meetings were not known and collections for Foreign missions were not taken up. Contributions were occasionally "lifted" for sending assistance to destitute settlements and to aid "poor and pious youth in seeking an education for the ministry." The salaries of ministers and the expenses of public worship were defrayed by assessments on pews in the church.† Although the Doctor was a skilful versifier of the Psalms, and had been appointed by the Synod and the subsequent General Assembly on Committees "for securing a more perfect version of the Psalms than that in common use," he does not appear to have

†MS. Letter of Dr. Geo. Duffield.

interfered with the use of Rouse's version which he found at first among his people.

It was at some time near 1802, that the Trustees of Dickinson College began to erect a building for the accommodation of their students on the lot they had purchased. With immense effort they succeeded in raising funds and in constructing a single edifice into which they were preparing to remove, when near the commencement of 1803, their work was entirely consumed by fire. Fortunately they were still in possession of the property on Pomfret Street and Liberty Alley, and there the exercises of College continued until a new edifice was built on the "campus," but the disappointment for the time seemed almost insupportable. Appeals however were again made to the churches and to the friends of education throughout the land, and before another year a new and more imposing structure arose from the ashes. But before this happy result was attained, Dr. Nisbet was himself taken from them by death. Under the exhausting labors which he undertook in such trying circumstances, his vigorous system gave way to a severe cold, accompanied with inflammation of the lungs and fever. Unable to arrest the progress of the disease, he finally succumbed under it (Jan. 18, 1804), after more than two weeks of intense suffering, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. The event threw not only the College but the whole community into mourning. He was in intimate relations with the congregation to which he was a preacher, and to the whole population with which he held much intercourse. All admired

him, though many differed from him in some of his views. He had been deprived of many of his stipulated dues, not because his rights were not respected, but on account of the extreme severity of the times.* And now when he was so suddenly snatched from their midst, all hearts were smitten with woe. Dr. Davidson was called upon for a discourse on his life and character, in which he declared that "the world was deprived of a scholar and a divine worthy to be ranked among the most eminent." His remains were interred in the Cemetery of this Borough, and the Trustees of the College resolved to erect over them a suitable monument; but great embarrassments caused so many delays, that the task was assumed by his only surviving son, Alexander Nisbet Esq., of Baltimore. A beautiful inscription, supposed to have been composed by Dr. John M. Mason, one of his successors in office, but then of New York, records the high esteem with which he was regarded. At the time of his decease he left two sons and two daughters. His eldest son Thomas survived him only a few months, was never married, and was the victim of dissipated habits. His second son Alexander, graduated at Dickinson College in 1794, studied law under Judge Thomas Duncan of Carlisle, settled as a lawyer in Baltimore where he was for more than twenty years a Judge of the City Court, and has only recently deceased. His eldest daughter Mary, married soon after his settlement in this country Wm. Turnbull Esq., and died about twenty years after her father, leaving a numerous family. His

**Miller's Life of Nisbet*, p. 288.

second daughter Alison, married Dr. Samuel A. McCoskry in 1795, and was left a widow in 1818. She was for many years a worthy member of this church, until her removal to reside with her only surviving son Samuel, the present Episcopal Bishop of Michigan. One of her daughters married Rev. Erskine Mason D. D., of New York, and another Charles D. Cleaveland, then a professor in Dickinson College, but since the Principal of a respectable literary institution in Philadelphia, where he recently died.*

As Vice President of the College Dr. Davidson endeavored to discharge the duties of a Principal for five years. In 1809, on the election of Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Atwater, to be Principal, he resigned all connection with the Faculty of the College, that he might devote himself exclusively to his pastoral duties, and received a vote of thanks from the Trustees "for his long and faithful services." A few months before, he had been severely afflicted by the death of his second wife, the daughter of one of his elders, John Montgomery Esq., after a brief union of two years. She was the mother of his only son, Rev. Dr. Robert Davidson recently deceased. For more than a quarter of a century, he had been connected with Dickinson College, for which he probably did more in building it up and giving it its peculiar character than any one man. Voluminous manuscript Lectures in the various departments in which he served, still remain and attest his remarkable diligence and versatility. He had made himself familiar with not less than eight languages,

*Miller's Life of Nisbet, p. 101ss.

and with the whole circle of the sciences of that period. Astronomy however appears to have been his favorite study, and he not only published some papers in that department, which were extensively quoted, but he invented an ingenious apparatus by which the whole solar system was presented to view on the same axis, and all the changes of the seasons and of the heavenly bodies were rendered easily intelligible. His mind appears also to have been tuned to a singular harmony, which disposed him to smooth away discordances of every kind. Dr. Cathcart says of him : "He had a natural turn for poetry and a taste for drawing, but could not afford time to cultivate it as he could have wished. He spent however a considerable part of the last winter of his life in reading the Book of Psalms in the original, in examining all the versions of them to which he could have access, and in giving them a metrical version of his own with notes and explanations. This version is doubtless far inferior to that of Watts, yet we think it much superior to that of Sternhold & Hopkins improved by Rouse, which continues to be sung in his as in many other congregations. He was far from speaking highly of it himself, for as he modestly observed in a letter to myself, 'that if no person should receive any advantage from it, yet he himself had been fully compensated for all his time and trouble, by having his attention so particularly called to that beautiful, instructive, but too much neglected portion of Scripture, the Book of Psalms.' When he was a Professor in the University of Pennsylvania he composed an Epitome of Geography and turned it into metre. Although the

subject was very inauspicious for poetry, yet he made the most of it, and many young men were induced by its being in verse to commit many parts of it to memory.*

Of his subsequent labors in the pastorate, we have very few memorials. A little book of private memorandums of marriages and admissions to the communion, is the only record he has left us of his ministerial labors. On one or two occasions a large number of persons made a public profession of their faith, and so we infer that he must have enjoyed something like the revivals of an earlier and a more recent period, but ordinarily the communicants were gathered by small additions. During the twenty-seven years of his pastorate, four hundred and ninety-eight persons were admitted to his church, three hundred and thirty of whom were by profession of their faith. In 1812 he records that "the whole number of communicants was one hundred and ninety-six, although twelve at least, perhaps twenty, are absent."†

The elders who served with him in session are known to us only as they are mentioned on the minutes of Presbytery; but from these we gather the names of Andrew McBath, Robert Miller, John Montgomery, William Lyon, Samuel Woods, Samuel Laird, William Douglass, Charles McClure, John Creigh, John M. Davidson, and James Lamberton.

Dr. Davidson was married a third time|| (April 17, 1810)

*Sermon on the death of Dr. Davidson, preached in the Pres. Church of Carlisle, Feb. 28, 1813, by the Rev. *Robert Cathcart*, of York, pp. 20

—21.

†Memorandum Book of Dr. Davidson.

||His first wife he had married on his first entrance upon the ministry, after her attendance upon him during a serious illness. He lived with her

to a daughter of the Hon. Wm. Harris. She survived him many years, residing principally at York, Pa., where she died about 1850. On the death of General Washington, Dec. 14, 1799, he preached to his people a Funeral Sermon, which was printed, and "may be seen in a collection of such discourses" which was formed soon after that event. In 1796, he attained one of the highest honors of his church, in being chosen Moderator of the Eighth General Assembly which met at Philadelphia.*

One of the latest acts which distinguished his Presbyterian career, was the introduction and passage of an overture of which he is supposed to have been the author and which is thus noticed on the minutes of Carlisle Presbytery: "The Presbytery, learning that praying societies have of late been instituted in various places within our bounds and with promising appearances of success; and highly approving of such societies as tending under the divine blessing to promote the

for more than thirty years, when she was killed by the overturning of a carriage at Carlisle in 1806. The circumstances connected with his marriage with her are thus related by his son: "While a student of Divinity he was seized with a dangerous illness at a farm house in the country, and owed his life to the assiduous care and kind nursing of a daughter, (Abigail) of his host. She became so much attached to her patient that upon his recovery he ascertained there was but one way in which he could repay her. Such was his gratitude, and such his nice sense of honor, that, finding her happiness seriously involved, he married her; although she was older than himself, had not the slightest pretension to beauty, and moved in an humble sphere of life. She made him, however, for upwards of thirty years, an excellent and devoted wife." *Sprague's Annals*, Vol. III, p. 322.

*Memoir of Dr. Davidson by his son, *Dr. R. Davidson*, in *Sprague's Annals*, Vol. III, pp. 322—6.

interests of vital religion, do recommend to all the congregations under our care to institute and encourage such societies as far as their circumstances may render the same practicable." His death took place Dec. 13, 1812, at his residence in Carlisle (lot No. 37, on the North side of West Main Street, the western half of lots now occupied by J. Brown Parker). In his Funeral Discourse, his intimate friend Dr. Cathcart of York, said of him : "As a public speaker he would certainly have been more popular had it not been for his extreme sensibility, which was so great as to forbid him from almost ever attempting to address the feelings of an audience ; as his own became so much affected, as to prevent him from proceeding. Still his manner was solemn, impressive and well calculated to persuade. As a member of church judicatories, he was punctual in his attendance, and well acquainted with the Constitution and Discipline of the church. His opinions were well digested and matured and could generally be depended on ; but it was sometimes difficult to obtain them. This proceeded from a natural diffidence, as well as from a great unwillingness to enter into disputes and controversies. He was truly humble, thought modestly of his own attainments and was disposed to prefer others to himself in honor. He possessed great equanimity of mind, uncommon prudence and sound discretion. His moderation was literally known to all men. And though perhaps irritable by nature yet had he by great exertion and divine aid, obtained a considerable victory over his appetites and passions. He endeavored as far as was

possible to live peaceably with all men. He followed the things that make for peace, and studied to promote it as far as his influence extended. He was inviolable in his friendship when once fixed, and had particular pleasure in serving a friend. During an intimacy with him of twenty years, never was an act done, a word spoken or look given, inconsistent with the most sincere and disinterested friendship. He was free from sordid avarice, and from an immoderate love of the riches or pleasures of the world. And though his income was moderate yet was he liberal and given to hospitality. And as he was a pattern for believers in his life, so was he also exemplary in his death. The most difficult part of a Christian's duty, and the highest degree of holiness upon earth, is to bear excessive pain with a meek and quiet spirit. His sufferings were great and his pain excessive, occasioned by the apprehension of instant suffocation, a sensation of all others the most distressing, yet never did a murmur escape nor a complaint proceed from his lips. And this was the case not only for a few days, but for more than two months. When he had respites from suffering, he was communicating instruction and giving salutary admonitions to those around him, as long as he was permitted to use such exertion. And though he had the nearest and dearest connexions to attach him to life (for where was there ever a more tender father or affectionate husband ?), yet was he enabled to bear the dissolution of those endearing ties, and to say from the heart, 'the will of the Lord be done!' Thus having faithfully finished his labors, and patiently endured the

sufferings allotted him, he calmly fell asleep in the Lord. This happened on the day of sacred rest, perhaps intended by God as a token or earnest of that eternal rest into which he was about to enter, and which remaineth for the people of God. You in this place have enjoyed the preaching of several eminent men distinguished for their zeal, piety and learning. Few branches of the church can boast of such able and faithful ministers of the gospel as this corner of the vineyard. You have had a Duffield, a Steel, a Nisbet and a Davidson; all diligent and faithful laborers. Have their instructions been improved by you as they ought, and will it be finally a blessing to you that you have lived under their ministry?" The last Sabbath of September, Dr. Davidson had given notice to his people that on the ensuing Sabbath the Lord's Supper would be celebrated. He was taken ill in the course of the week, with the disorder of which he afterwards died. Not being able to attend, he sent to his people a most affectionate and pathetic appeal (his last address), which was read to them at the close of the exercises. His remains were interred in the public cemetery of Carlisle, and it was quite appropriate that on the tombstone of one who had concentrated in himself and united the affections of a hitherto sadly divided people, who had preserved from strife a Collegiate board with strong tendencies to alienation, who had made it his life work to study and sing the harmonies of nature and of divine truth, and whose presence had always been for every circle like a wave of serenity,

should be inscribed the well merited words, "A BLESSED PEACEMAKER."

CHAPTER VII.

MR. DUFFIELD'S PASTORATE.

During the last three years of Dr. Davidson's pastorate, he was assisted in preaching by the Rev. Henry R. Wilson. He had graduated at Dickinson College in 1798, had studied theology under Dr. Nisbet, had married a daughter of David Brown of Carlisle, had been licensed by the Presbytery of Carlisle in 1801, was ordained and installed at Bellefonte and Lick Run in Centre County by the Presbytery of Huntingdon in 1802, and became Professor of Languages in Dickinson College in 1809.* After Dr. Davidson's death he continued to supply the vacant pulpit, at least one-half the time until 1813, when at the meeting of Presbytery (April 13), "a paper was brought in signed by five elders of the congregation of Carlisle requesting that the Rev. Henry R. Wilson be appointed to preach in that congregation one-half of his time during the ensuing six months;

**Sprague's Annals*, Vol. IV. pp. 300—3. Triennial Catalogue of Dickinson College, 1814.

and soliciting additional supplies." "Another paper was presented signed by five trustees and five members of said congregation, praying that Mr. Wilson may not be appointed as a stated supply or in any relation to the congregation which might interfere with or prevent their obtaining at the earliest a preacher or pastor who shall unite the congregation and promote peace and harmony among them; adding that at an unusually full meeting of the congregation held for the purpose, it was clearly evinced that the congregation or at least the half of it is not well disposed to Mr. Wilson. Whereupon, Resolved, That as complying with the request contained in the first of these papers might not tend to promote the peace, union or harmony of that congregation it be not granted: more especially as complying with it might be attended with embarrassments both to Mr. Wilson and the people of Fort Cumberland, who have sent on a call for Mr. Wilson, which the Presbytery have sustained and directed to be put into his hands, and which from the circumstances of the case seems to require an immediate answer." It appears that Mr. Wilson did not accept the call to Fort Cumberland, but that the party in the church desiring his services persisted in urging him as a candidate for the pastorate. At the meeting of Presbytery in September of the same year (1813), a call for him was presented in which the congregation of Carlisle "promise to pay him the sum of one Thousand Dollars annually, in regular annual payments." "Accompanying this call however were several other papers, containing a remonstrance against the call and a reply in

favor of it." On the next day (Sept. 29th), "Presbytery resumed the consideration of the call. It appeared from the representation of Mr. Denny, who presided in drawing up said call, that upon the case being put to a vote there were sixty-eight in favor of the call and twenty-seven opposed to it. It appeared further that previous to entering upon the business, a protest was read signed by twenty-eight persons, assigning various reasons against proceeding to the election from supposed irregularities in the proceedings. A memorial was also presented to Presbytery signed by fifty-six persons, styled pewholders remonstrating against the settlement of Mr. W. in that congregation as of a pernicious and ruinous tendency to the interests of the society. Two other papers were offered, stating from the Treasurer's books, that the pew-rents of those who voted in favor of the call amounted to Two Hundred and Thirty-nine Dollars, and that the pew-rents of those who voted against it amounted to Three Hundred and Ten Dollars. A paper was likewise presented in favor of the call, signed by sixty-one persons, styled pewholders in the communion of the church, by fifty-four who were pewholders only, and by one hundred and four in communion only; offering a variety of reasons in support of the call. Another paper was presented from the Board of Trustees (one member objecting) protesting against the settlement of Mr. W. among them and appointing commissioners to lay their objections and reasons before Presbytery. The above papers having been read and the parties heard through their commissioners at full length, the Presbytery pro-

ceeded to deliberate and determine upon the case. Whereupon it was unanimously resolved that it was inexpedient to put said call into the hands of Mr. Wilson. An appeal to Synod was entered against this decision by the Commissioners who advocated the call. A paper was then brought in signed by four elders of the Carlisle congregation requesting that Mr. Wilson be appointed to supply in that place the half of his time during the ensuing six months and soliciting as many other supplies as may be convenient. After maturely considering this application, Presbytery, anxiously desirous of promoting the union and peace of the congregation and being fully persuaded that continuing Mr. W. the half or any part of his time within the bounds of said congregation, would in present circumstances have a direct tendency to promote dissensions and divisions, resolved that it be enjoined and it was thereby enjoined on Mr. W. not to preach or exercise his ministerial function therein. It was also resolved further, that it be earnestly recommended to the congregation to study the things which make for peace and the things by which they may edify one another. Ordered that a copy of the proceedings upon this subject be read in the Carlisle church next Lord's day after sermon." Two years later (Sept. 26, 1815), it is recorded in the minutes of Presbytery that Mr. Knox of Carlisle complained of some proceedings of the Session of Carlisle in a case between him and Samuel Woods, in which "Mr. Wilson was invited to sit as Moderator." The complaint was sustained and Mr. Wilson was censured for accepting the invitation to

preside, and the Session were censured for inviting him to preside, "when he was under a particular prohibition by Presbytery not to perform any ministerial function within the bounds of that congregation."

The next year (1816), he resigned his professorship in College, and became pastor of the church at Silvers' Spring, and in 1824 he took charge of the congregation at Shippensburg. In 1838, he accepted a general agency for the Board of Publication, and in 1842, he became pastor of the church at Neshaminy, Bucks Co. In all these relations he exhibited remarkable diligence and self denial, and was in each charge more than commonly successful. He died in 1849, at the house of his son Rev. H. R. Wilson, in Philadelphia.*

In the month of July, 1815, Mr. George Duffield was on a journey to the Western part of this State on business for his father, of Lancaster County. On reaching Carlisle, where his grandfather had been so long a pastor, and where many friends of the family still resided, he concluded to remain over Sabbath ; and he was prevailed upon to supply the vacant pulpit. He had been licensed three months before by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, just as he had reached twenty-one years of age. He saw the congregation divided into parties, agitated by the revival of controversies which had slumbered for a generation but embittered by new feuds of a personal character, giving all their strength to ecclesiastical suits some of which had reached the General Assembly, and to a great degree inattentive to the interests of the soul.

**Sprague's Annals*, Vol. IV. pp. 300—3.

There are those yet living, who remember the impassioned earnestness with which the youthful preacher strove to recall them to more spiritual duties; and a number of persons in after life ascribed their permanent religious impressions to his fidelity and zeal on that occasion. By the middle of December, the congregation which had been vacant for three years, agreed to lay aside their dissensions, and united in giving him a call to become their pastor. On the last Sabbath of the year (1815), he visited them again and began preaching with them, but without committing himself to accept their call. Some attempts were made by individuals to enlist him on one side or another of the parties which prevailed among them, and to prejudice him against persons in the church and in Presbytery, but he was endowed with discretion enough to bury such communications in silence, and to lead those who sought his society to better themes.* And yet, it was not without hesitation and considerable reluctance that he consented to make this place his home. He was aware that his views on some points in Theology, and more especially on the administration of the Sacraments and on Church Discipline were not in accordance with those which had previously been prevalent in the congregation and even among some of his brethren in the ministry of this region. Although his peculiarities in these respects were not those which created disturbance many years afterwards, and although they would be sanctioned by the general church at the present time with perhaps entire unanim-

**Duffield's Hist. Discourse at Carlisle, July 1, 1857, p. 32.*

ity,* they were not likely to be accepted by the people at that time without a serious and doubtful struggle. It was therefore with extreme solicitude that after six weeks of trial, he consented (in February, 1816) to assume the pastorate among this people. Even then however, he was disposed to put off the decisive act which bound him to this people, and he was not ordained and installed until Sept. 25, 1816.

After so much deliberation and final conviction that Providence was leading him hither, he was not the man to temporize or to neglect all possible means of success. There were but three active members of Session, William Douglass (who had been a member and perhaps an elder in his grandfather's church in Carlisle), James Lamberton and George Davidson. These he had already found to agree with him, or to have become convinced of the propriety of his plans, and he felt assured that they would sustain him. To them were added before the first communion, Thomas Urié, Thomas Carothers, Robert McCord, Robert Clark, and John Irvine, men of unquestioned piety, of invincible firmness and of wise counsel; and of whom he always spoke with affection and respect. At the first meeting of the enlarged Session (Oct. 6, 1816), some resolutions which he had carefully prepared and which had been adopted at a previous

*The views both of doctrine and discipline which Mr. D. *at this time* entertained were such as he always contended were obtained from his theological education under Dr. John M. Mason with whom he enjoyed the most cordial friendship, and who for some years sat under his pastoral charge with entire cooperation and approbation. Private MS. Letters of Dr. D.

meeting of Session (Sept. 29), were introduced "and after much conversation were again unanimously adopted as the rule of their proceedings." They were the following: viz. 1. *Resolved*, That we do earnestly deplore the evil effects of an irregular or lax management of the discipline of the church, and therefore purpose by the grace of God to exert ourselves to preserve the purity of its ordinances, and carefully and prudently to watch over the conduct of its members.

2. *Resolved*, That we do conceive ourselves bound as officers in the church of Christ, to whom is entrusted the care of his house, to act very prudently and cautiously with respect to admitting persons to the participation of its privileges. Conceiving therefore that agreeably to the constitution of Christ's church and our standards, a credible profession of saving faith in Christ and obedience to his commandments is necessary to constitute a person a member of the visible church; and that the right or privilege of baptism is derived by a parent for his offspring, not in consequence of his being himself baptized but in consequence of his being himself a member, that is, one who credibly professes the great truths taught by his baptism, and sealed not so much to the infant as to the church—conceiving this, we do consider ourselves warranted, yea authorized to deny the privilege of baptism to all who do not make such a profession, and to refuse that it should be administered to any in a way which does not recognize its public character as being an ordinance of the church and sealing to the church that which it symbolizes, except perhaps in cases

when peculiar and pressing circumstances may prevent.

3. *Resolved*, That as the peace and prosperity of the church depends in a great measure upon the purity of its members, we do therefore conceive it to be our duty to prevent from participating in its privileges any or all who do not come under all the obligations which Christ has imposed upon his people, and to see that its members live according to them. We therefore cannot conceive ourselves authorized to receive into the communion of the church those who refuse to set up the worship of God in their families or to desist from those pursuits which are inconsistent with a godly walk and conversation, nor to retain in the enjoyment of its privileges those who having promised to do either have failed to comply.

4. *Resolved*, That as the discipline of Christ's house is all founded in love we do therefore conceive ourselves bound to deal with all offenders with all long-suffering and with the utmost tenderness, in hopes that by its salutary exercise and seasonable administration they may be recovered out of the snare of the devil.

5. *Resolved*, That as frequent administrations of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper are highly conducive to the edification and comfort of the church, we will therefore see that we have this confirming and strengthening ordinance celebrated amongst us at least once in three months, and that as this will occasion an increase of labour on the part of the pastor and as it may at all times be difficult to procure assistance, and as in general much preaching about the time of its celebration is rather calculated to throw a gloom around it so as to prevent in-

stead of inducing a bold and confident approach to God in that ordinance, we do therefore agree that there shall be but one day devoted to what is called a preparation or fast day, which shall be on the Saturday preceding the day on which it is to be administered.

6. *Resolved*, That each member of Session be furnished with and keep a copy of the foregoing resolutions."

As each of these resolutions was aimed at long established usages in the congregation, we need not be surprised that they should have awakened much opposition. There was however one circumstance which afforded a favorable occasion for dropping many from the lists of communicants who would not or could not come up to the new regulations. As no lists of dismissions or deaths had been kept, but only of baptisms and admissions to the Lord's table, it was impossible to determine who were at that time in regular standing as communicants, and it was resolved that "all who had formerly been members should hand in their names to the pastor and after a personal interview with him or one of the elders, a token for the communion should be given them and their names should be recorded." In April 12, 1814, there had been reported Two Hundred and Twenty-one members in communion, though it had been added that this was "probably twenty-one too many." The list of names now formed in the course of a few weeks included only One Hundred and Fifty-two names of those who had been communicants in former years. In this way those who had backslidden, who had fallen into scan-

dalous sins, or were dissatisfied with the new regulations were quietly dropped. Baptism was refused to the children of all but professed believers and was in all cases, except in extraordinary circumstances, required to be public; and the children thus baptized were treated as members of the church and subject in all possible cases to its discipline and care. In every proper way and especially in their annual visitations to families, the pastor and Session were expected to make inquiry whether these children were religiously educated and instructed, and when they gave evidence of piety they were informed that as members they had a right to a place at the table of Christ. The pastor himself superintended their instruction in the catechism and watched carefully over their common deportment. In 1816, a Sabbath School was organized, it being among the first in this region.* It was intended principally for those children whose religious education was neglected at home, and hence was looked upon as a benevolent or missionary operation. Since that time the Sabbath School has got to be looked upon in many places as designed wholly for the families of the congregation, and too often as supplying the place of parental care. A Bible class was also started, but for some time was attended exclusively by young women under the superintendence of the pastor. There was no library for either of these schools during the first seven years, and the singing was altogether from the book in use in the congregational worship, commonly

*Religious Miscellany, Vol. II, pp 23—25, (published at Carlisle by Fleming & Geddes, 1823).

called "Rouse's version of the Psalms." Prayer meetings had been cautiously introduced by Mr. Wilson, and with the assistance of Dr. Atwater, then President of Dickinson College, had been for a while maintained, but no layman had been expected to take part in the exercises: They were now revived, and a few elders and private Christians were encouraged to lead in the devotions. Even women were induced to form an association for prayer and mutual improvement by themselves, under specific rules derived directly from the Scriptures. Wednesday afternoon was devoted to catechetical instruction in which the young people were classified according to their age and sex, and were required to repeat the Shorter Catechism with proofs, and encouraged to learn the Larger also and the Psalms. To reach those who lived in the country, appointments were made and announced on the Sabbath for a meeting at some suitable place where the children were to be collected, so that each neighborhood would be reached during the annual family visitation. This visitation was performed by the pastor accompanied by the elder within whose "quarter" the neighborhood properly fell, and it was expected that every member of the family would be present, and that inquiries would be made into each one's knowledge and spiritual state. Without taking the responsibility of the education and care of children from their natural guardians, the Session felt bound to see that the promises made at baptism were faithfully complied with; and to urge all the youth as soon as they arrived at a suitable age to take upon themselves the vows

of their baptism and to avail themselves of church privileges.*

The church was then somewhat reduced in numbers, but its spirituality and efficiency were perceptibly increased. The young pastor was evidently a man of prayer and of more than ordinary consecration to his work. If the rules he introduced were strict and unusual and sometimes enforced with severity, it was evident that he enforced upon himself what he demanded from others, and that he was actuated by an ardent love for souls, and an overwhelming sense of responsibility to God. His word was therefore with power. A few families, more attached to their amusements and especially to public and promiscuous dancing than to their church, ultimately withdrew to another congregation, and others who disliked the prominence given to the peculiar doctrines of the Calvinistic system became connected with a new organization of the Methodist church. On neither of these points was there any relaxation. A form of admission to the communion, to be publicly read and assented to by every one coming to the Table of the Lord was introduced, which pledged each one to renounce "attendance at balls, dancing, theatres, and such like demoralizing amusements," and set forth what were called "the doctrines of grace" in the strongest terms. The opposition of some ungodly persons rose to the highest degree and sometimes even threatened violence, but the wrath of man was restrained, and the truth commended itself to every man's conscience in the sight of

*MS. Letters of Rev. George Duffield, D. D.

God. The first communion season Oct. 20, 1816, one month after the installation of the new pastor, was an occasion of extraordinary interest. Since the death of Dr. Davidson, during an interval of about three years, the church had enjoyed only one such season. In consequence of the unpleasant feelings produced among the people by the action of Presbytery on their call to Mr. Wilson, no request for supplies or for the administration of the Sacraments had been sent up. Twenty-three persons came forward to the communion for the first time, and twenty-one by certificate. During the first year of Mr. Duffield's pastorate this number was augmented to seventy-five by profession and fifty by certificate. Numbers came before Session confessing that they had never before known what true religion was, though they had before been communicants here and in other places, and desiring that a statement of their cases might be publicly made. Most of the new members were connected with the Bible class, and were prepared for their public reception by a careful examination and training for many weeks. The people generally co-operated with the pastor, and were heartily with him in his sentiments and aims. The members of the church especially were of one mind and gave their faithful testimony in behalf of what was preached, even when their defects were unsparingly condemned. "The results soon began to irritate the wicked and unbelieving, and they were not backward in expressing their sentiments. The openmouthed and billingsgate ribaldry and the reproachful hostility of those who rejected the gospel and which

for years were unintermittent and abundant only served to strengthen the cord of attachment that united pastor and people. Seldom indeed was he obliged to say that the members of the church strengthened the hands of the wicked. The developments of Providence were often of a character distinctly marked and lessons of wisdom and piety were taught by them which have been of value ever since."* In some instances those who made a mock of religion were so struck down in the midst of their impieties as to hold up a manifest signal of divine rebuke, and to compel others to fear and take warning.

This state of things was however by no means uniform. The pastor and Session witnessed many seasons of religious declension in which their patience and fidelity were severely tried. Cases of discipline came up in Session which were grievous to their hearts and were used by opposers with some effect against religion. At such times, days of fasting, humiliation and prayer were held, when the sins and infirmities of God's people were exposed, bewailed and often effectually renounced. In 1822 especially, the following minute is found on the Records, viz.: "Whereas the judgments of God are abroad among us descending in various forms, in sore and mortal diseases in many places, and in the immediate vicinity of this; but especially among us in severe and long continued drought which has already cut short the crops and destroyed the pasture and produced a

**Duffield's Hist. Disc.* at the Centennial celebration, July 1, 1857, p. 33. Minutes of Session *passim*.

great scarcity of water; and Whereas a general observance of a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer by all religious denominations is much to be desired: Therefore Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to confer with the different pastors and vestries or Sessions belonging to the different religious societies of this Borough, and if they shall deem it proper agree upon some day to be observed for this purpose." Indeed the Pastor, in speaking of those times, makes mention of seasons in which he was driven sometimes to extreme discouragement and spiritual conflicts. The ultimate effect however was to bring him and other leaders in the church to more earnest wrestlings in prayer, and to greater earnestness in the use of means. It was not for such men and women to yield to despondency or fear.

Accordingly God not unfrequently gave tokens of his acceptance of their supplications and blessed their efforts. Seldom were the dews of the Spirit withheld and but one communion season passed during Mr. Duffield's pastorate here, in which a goodly number were not added to the company of believers. But seasons of remarkable revival after a time of declension were also enjoyed in which larger ingatherings were witnessed. Such were especially the years 1817, 1823, 1827, 1831, and 1834. One of these interesting seasons (1823) was in connection with an impressive series of providences. We have noticed the judgments which led to the appointment in the autumn of 1822 of a day of humiliation and prayer. Within a few months took place the sudden death of two young men of great promise, and connected

with families of high position in society. One of these was James Hall, the son of Dr. John M. Mason, the former theological preceptor of Mr. Duffield, and at that time Principal of Dickinson College. This young man had not long before graduated, and was then a teacher in the Grammar school. He is said to have maintained a highly exemplary character and to have been much beloved. During the prevalence of a typhus fever in the town he was suddenly smitten down, and almost without warning he died (Nov. 16, 1822) in the 20th year of his age. At his funeral, his venerable father was unwilling to allow of "services," under the plea that they were apt to become occasions for eulogy, but as the young men who served as pall-bearers lifted the coffin the afflicted father exclaimed in tones which those who were present can never forget: "Young men, tread lightly; ye bear a temple of the Holy Ghost," and then overcome by his feelings he dropped his head upon the shoulder of a minister by his side and said, "Dear M.* say something which God may bless to his young friends." An address was made, and very soon a powerful revival commenced in the College, spread to the town, and was especially precious in its results.† A large number of young men, students in College, and others connected with families in town professed religion. Eighteen of these became ministers of the gospel, and several of them rose to eminence in their respective denominations. Their names were, Abram S. Labagh, Wm. Cahoon Jun.,

**Rev. Robt. McCarter*, D. D., of New York City.

†*Sprague's Annals*, Vol. IV. pp. 12—24. Memoir of Dr. G. W. Beethune, by *Rev. A. R. Van Nest*, D. D., p. 22.

Isaac Labaugh, Robert P. Lee, Wm. P. Cochran, George A. Lyon, J. Chamberlain, J. W. McCullough, John T. M. Davie, M. B. Patterson, Erskine Mason, M. Williamson, G. W. Bethune, John M. Dickey, S. Montgomery, Wm. Annan, Samuel Smith and Ebenezer Mason.* Scarcely less marked was the work of God in the other seasons mentioned. In 1831 especially, when the whole country seemed overshadowed by a cloud of mercy, sending copious showers upon the entire church of the Middle States, the largest number became communicants which ever united during any one year. Some of the best materials for the religious community of all subsequent years were gathered at these seasons. Their character was determined and nurtured under vigorous influences. Their style of religious life was formed when the spirit was bold and decisive, as well as enlightened by unusually clear exhibitions of truth. As the College was then in intimate connection with the congregation, no inconsiderable portion of these ingatherings were among its youth. In consequence of this we find that an unusual number of future ministers were found among the converts. Thirty-eight of these are known to us, and more may have been preachers of other denominations. In addition to those already mentioned, we may notice Daniel McKinley, John H. Agnew, James Knox, Wm. McIlvane, John Krebs, John R. Agnew, R. Armstrong, W. H. Campbell, Robert Bryson, Nathan G. White, Thomas Creigh, Robert Davidson, George Dufield, Talbot W. Chambers, Samuel A. McCoskry, Jos.

*Church Manual published in 1834.

A. Murray, Earnest A. Brady, Richard Craighead and Henry Aurand. Almost without exception these united with this church by profession, and received their religious impressions and views of duty here. Many of them in subsequent life have revisited the church where their vows of consecration were first made, and have spoken of the obligations they were under to the faithful minister by whom they were led to Christ.

The following table of additions by profession and by certificate during each year of Mr. Duffield's pastorate in Carlisle may perhaps be worthy of record :

Year.	Total.	Year.	Total.
By Prof.	By Certif.	By Prof.	By Certif.
1816	23	21	44
1817	67	6	73
1818	51	11	62
1819	29	12	41
1820	36	11	47
1821	29	2	31
1822	17	3	20
1823	109	13	122
1824	24	13	37
1825	10	20	30
Total by Profession,			720
Total by Certificate,			182
Whole number of additions,			902

In Feb. 1819, Mr. William Woods was ordained an elder and added to the session ; in Dec. 25th, 1825, Messrs. John McClure, Andrew Blair, and Thomas Trimble ; and in Nov. 4th, 1832, Messrs. W. C. Chambers, Jacob Shrom, Ross Lamberton, John Halbert and

James Loudon. John Officer and James Givin were deacons when Mr. Duffield's pastorate commenced, having been ordained Oct. 4th, 1814, and to these were added Jan. 12th, 1820, Messrs. Andrew Blair, Peter B. Smith, and James Elliott; Jan. 4th, 1829, Messrs. John Proctor, William Craighead, Robert Irvine, Robert Giffin; Dec. 1, 1833, Messrs. Thomas Carothers and Henry Duffield; and April 20, 1834, Messrs. Andrew Comfort, Jacob Duey, Charles Ogilby, George Chapman and W. Craighead.

Among the Presbyterian Churches of this region, great importance had always been attached to that version of the Psalms which had been used by successive generations of their forefathers in the worship of God. By many ministers and churches it would have been looked upon as a profanation to use any words for singing in worship but those of the Psalter which had come down from the ancient church. Previous to April 4th, 1824, the church in Carlisle never departed from this usage; but at a meeting of the Presbytery at Carlisle on that day, Watts' version of Psalms and Hymns which had before been recommended by the General Assembly as likewise profitable for devotions, was used in all its exercises, and it was soon after adopted and used in the public meetings of the congregation along with the other version. Gradually the new book supplanted the old, though not without serious objections on the part of many and even the loss of two or three members of the church.*

*Religious Miscellany, Vol. II. p. 235.

In Sept. 11, 1818, Mr. Duffield was married to Isabella Graham Bethune, the grand-daughter of the celebrated Isabella Graham, and a sister of the late Rev. Dr. George W. Bethune. She proved an admirable help and comfort to him in his work by her unwavering faith in seasons of trial and her self-denying assistance in pastoral labor.* They had a numerous family which has always been loyal to the church and prominent in ecclesiastical affairs. They resided, for a while, a few doors east of the Methodist church, for a longer time about a mile West of town at a place called "The Happy Retreat," but finally in a mansion occupied first by Dr. Mason and since by Johnson Moore Esq.

Early in the general movement for the suppression of intemperance, a society was formed in this congregation in connection with it. After preaching earnestly and faithfully on the evils of drinking ardent spirits and on the wrong of manufacturing and selling them as a beverage, an invitation was given by the pastor at the close of divine service on the Sabbath (July 22, 1829), to all persons who agreed with him, to unite in an organized society to act against the evil. Fifty-eight members of the church came forward at once and signed the following paper: "We the undersigned, members of the Presbyterian church in the Borough of Carlisle and others do by our subscription to this paper organize ourselves into an Association for cooperating with societies in different places for the suppression of intemperance and the pro-

* "In Memoriam" of *Rev. Geo. Duffield, D. D.*, by *Rev. W. A. McCorkle*, p. 9.

motion of the observance of the holy Sabbath, and do hereby constitute our pastor and elders officers to act for the general interests of the Association, agreeably to the following principles and pledge, which we cordially profess and adopt, viz.: We whose names are hereunto annexed, impressed with the vast importance of suppressing the vice of intemperance which so alarmingly prevails, and convinced that the most appropriate means of our doing so is the moral influence of our example in an entire abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, Do hereby pledge ourselves to abstain from its use, except in cases it may be necessary for medicinal purposes. Moreover, we whose names are hereunto annexed impressed with a sense of our obligation to keep holy the Sabbath day and of the importance of the moral influence of example, Do pledge ourselves to refrain from all secular employments on that day, from traveling in steam boats, stages, canal boats or otherwise, except in cases of necessity or mercy; to aim at discharging the duties of that day and the preventing of our children and those under our authority from violating its sanctity; and to endeavor by the influence of personal example and the use of affectionate appeals to the consciences of others as we shall have opportunity, to promote the better observance of the day." Although the cause of Sabbath observance was included among the objects of interest in this paper, the principal exertion was concentrated upon that of Temperance. Much attention had been indeed drawn to the subject of patronizing public conveyances which run on the Sabbath, and nu-

merous petitions had been presented to Congress to discontinue the carrying of the mail on that day, but the excitement respecting the use and traffic in ardent spirits soon became absorbing. A number of distilleries were in full operation and a large amount of property was invested in the sale of liquors. Little was said at first respecting the use of other intoxicating beverages besides ardent spirits, though it was soon found that consistency required an inclusion of them all under the prohibition. This was from the first seen quite as clearly by such as used them as by the friends of the movement, and their combination with the defenders of ardent spirits was sure and decided. Little idea can now be formed of the strength and violence of that combination. At times it seemed as if the friends of reform must be overwhelmed and defeated. But steadily their number increased and the convictions of the sober and thoughtful were carried. In a few months nearly all establishments for the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits in this vicinity were suspended, and the majority of the people were ostensibly on the side of temperance. The County Society numbered over Eight Hundred, and none were expected to profess religion who would not act upon its essential principle.

In September, 1823, a "Young Men's Missionary Society" was organized for the promotion of both foreign and domestic missions. This is the first appearance of any general activity especially in behalf of Foreign Missions. Among the members were most of the young men connected with the church from both the College

and the town. Its first President was Erskine Mason, and among its officers were Daniel McKinley, W. L. Helfenstein, G. W. Bethune, John Krebs, James Knox, James Nourse, Geo. A. Lyon, and most of the pious students of the College. The association continued for many years and published an annual account of its proceedings in the Religious Miscellany and other newspapers of the town.*

Since the death of Dr. Davidson, when the Principal of the College ceased to be the pastor of the church, the relations of Dickinson College to the church had become less intimate, and yet they continued to be of importance. The Rev. Dr. J. Atwater of Middlebury College, Vermont, was inaugurated as Principal Sept. 26, 1809, a new organization of Professorships took place, the College building was divided into rooms for students, and new life was infused into the entire institution. The number of students rapidly increased, and from twelve to twenty-three were graduated each year until 1814, when serious difficulties arose in the discipline of the College. The Trustees had the right by charter to revise and annul all decisions of the Faculty, and about this time so frequent was the exercise of this right as to take away all efficiency from the government of the Faculty. In 1815, when the Board went so far as to require from the Faculty a weekly report of all their proceedings in order that this supervision might be complete, Dr. Atwater and his associates immediately resigned; and although their places were temporarily supplied for another year,

*Religious Miscellany, Vol. II, p 155.

in Sept. 26, 1816, only six young men were graduated, and the exercises of the College were suspended. A year before the close of the war (1814), a number of the Senior class volunteered for the defence of Philadelphia, and next year (Dec., 1815), one of the Junior class was killed in a duel, in which five others were so seriously involved that they felt obliged to leave the Institution and to return no more. The funds of the Institution were insufficient to sustain current expenses, and all attempts to meet the deficiency by private subscriptions or by legislative aid were unsuccessful. For five years there was a recess in the operations of the College, and a resumption of them was effected only by conveying to the State the lands which had been granted to it in 1786, and receiving for it from the Legislature Six Thousand Dollars in hand, and the promise of Ten Thousand in five annual installments. With these funds and some recent subscriptions the debts of the Institution were paid, the College edifice was repaired and completed, and a new Faculty was chosen with the Rev. Dr. John M. Mason of New York City for Principal. The salaries of the members of the Faculty were also raised to what was looked upon as a liberal remuneration, and much effort was made to obtain students. For a while the number of students was quite respectable. The class of 1823 consisted of nineteen and that of 1824 of twenty-four. From this latter year the numbers began to decrease. The health of the admired Principal so declined that he was unable to meet his responsibilities, suspicions of making the College subservient to political partisan-

ship were circulated against the Trustees, and another suspension of the College was anticipated as soon as the State's installments on the public lands should cease. Dr. Mason was obliged in May, 1824 to resign, and Dr. William Neill of Philadelphia was chosen the same year in his room. An annuity of Three Thousand dollars was obtained from the Legislature for the seven years to come, but on condition that "not more than one-third of the Trustees should at any one time be clergymen," and that "the trustees should exhibit annually during the seven years to the Legislature a statement of the financial situation of the College." But the old embarrassments in the administration of discipline returned, insubordination and disorder on an extended scale prevailed in College, the Legislature claimed the right to inquire into supposed tendencies to sectarianism, and in consequence the Trustees were called before the Senate, and the salaries of the Principal and professors were reduced in 1830 to the former small amount. Although the Legislative investigation resulted in an acquittal of all charges, it gave occasion to much obloquy, and the reduction of salaries was followed by an immediate resignation of each member of the Faculty. The Rev. Samuel B. How, D. D. of New Jersey was soon induced (March 30, 1830), with a full corps of professors, to supply the vacancies. In 1830 a class of six was graduated, and the following year a class of five, the whole number of students being but twenty-one. There remained but one more of the Legislature's installments by which alone the institution was now almost supported. Under

these circumstances the Board resolved March 26, 1832, that the exercises of College should cease. A letter was received by its President soon afterwards stating that the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church were desirous of establishing a College within its bounds, and asking whether Dickinson College could be obtained for that purpose and on what terms. On the 18th of April, 1833, a committee of Conference met the Board, and an arrangement was made by which a sufficient number of the Trustees should successively resign and make way for new members to be named by the Conference to give the control of the Institution to that body. The Philadelphia soon became associated with the Baltimore Conference, and in the same year the Board of Trustees recognized its subordination to those Conferences. The buildings, library, cabinets and apparatus, a small bank stock, and a claim on the State for another installment, were considered sufficient to pay off all debts, and to assist in repairs and needful improvements. On the 30th of May, 1835, the lot, ninety by two hundred and forty feet, which has since been occupied by the College for a Grammar School, Library and Cabinet of Natural History, was purchased by the Board of Trustees and has been found an almost indispensable part of its establishment. A new Faculty was soon appointed and the College entered upon a career of usefulness and prosperity.*

*Hist. Sketch of Dickinson College by Prof. Caldwell in Amer. Quart. Register, (published by the Amer. Education Soc.) Vol. VIII, pp. 117—29, Boston, 1836.

In or near 1827, the congregation resolved to "erect an addition to the Presbyterian house of worship, and to improve and alter the interior." Three Thousand Dollars were to be raised for this purpose by subscription. Before this the general arrangement of the audience room had continued essentially unchanged from the time of the union of the two original congregations under Dr. Davidson. Now the the pulpit was removed from the northern side to the western end of the building, the galleries were made to correspond, the main entrances were taken from the southern side and put upon the eastern end, and eighty-eight pews were erected on the main floor including five on each side of the pulpit. A building one story high was constructed against the western wall, to serve for Sunday School, Lecture and Prayer meetings, with a door each side the pulpit opening into the main audience room. The expense of these alterations and improvements appears to have been cheerfully borne and no serious difficulty was encountered with respect to the private ownership of pews. Whether any part of the funds which had accrued from the sale of the glebe was used as some assert in these improvements we are unable to decide.

With respect to this glebe, we find a number of resolutions passed by the Board of Trustees for its sale before June 27, 1815, but we have no decisive evidence that such a sale was actually effected for the whole or any part. We are sorry to find that serious disagreements had arisen with the heirs of both Dr. Nisbet and Dr. Davidson respecting arrears due them. These arose

principally from the difference between the value of the continental currency in which the congregation had agreed to pay the salaries of these ministers, and the subsequent currency of the country, and also from the alleged fact that the congregation had never authorized some of the engagements into which its Trustees had entered, but still more from the neglects which had been allowed in the payments. In the end an arbitration had to be held to determine the amounts due to both these estates some time in the year 1815. The decision of these arbitrators was acquiesced in by the congregation, and the Trustees were empowered to sell the glebe for not less than eighty dollars per acre, and with the proceeds to satisfy these claims. In some way however, this payment was effected without the sale of the glebe, which remained in the possession of the congregation until Jan. 13, 1827, when it was sold to Mr. Philip Weaver for and in consideration of the sum of Three Thousand Five Hundred Dollars, the receipt of which was then acknowledged. The deed was given by Joseph Knox, as President of the Board of Trustees and attested by George A. Lyon Esq., Secretary. A reservation however was made of "the ground which had been used and was then inclosed as a graveyard or place for burying the dead on said premises, together with the wall or fence enclosing the same, with a free and uninterrupted ingress, egress and regress to, into and from the said graveyard." The deed was recorded on the 13th of February in the County of Cumberland, in Record Book K. K. Vol. 1, p. 163, &c., by Jacob Hendel, Recorder.

After satisfying the claims of the heirs of Drs. Nisbet and Davidson, the residuary amount was deposited in the bank and the interest was applied to various expenses.*

During the latter part of Mr. Duffield's pastorate in Carlisle, and in the midst of the revivals in which he was engaged, he was induced to adopt a style of preaching in some respects different from that which had characterized him at an earlier period, and which prevailed among his ministerial brethren in this region. In conversing with those who came to him to learn how they might attain spiritual life, he had often been embarrassed by their questions, and had felt compelled to lay aside the theological language to which he had been accustomed. The figurative expressions which he found in the Scriptures to describe Regeneration were drawn principally from those in use to describe the origin of natural life. He argued therefore that if we have mistaken views of what life is, in its more ordinary forms, we can hardly fail of having mistaken notions of it in spiritual things. In accordance with the views of Dr. Owen, as he understood them, he had regarded natural life as a created substance or essence, with a distinct existence and with powers and properties of its own, and he supposed that this was infused into all animal organizations when they were first quickened by divine power, and was withdrawn from them at death. Spiritual life there-

*MSS. papers of the Board of Trustees, Records of the County of Cumberland, and Deeds in the possession of Mr. Reuben Fishburn, the present owner of the Glebe farm.

fore he looked upon as the infusion of something into our natures corresponding to this vital essence in the body. Of course he could not avoid the conclusion that regeneration is a physical change wrought by the natural omnipotence of God, and depravity a physical essence producing sin by a necessity of nature. He recollects a remark made twenty years before in the classroom by his much revered instructor Dr. Mason, which, without defining life itself, affirmed that the ideas of action and enjoyment are always connected with it. The discovery of the falsity of his earlier philosophy on this subject he declares was new and glorious light to his mind. He now turned his attention very earnestly to the general subject, and soon arrived at the conclusion that life was no real essence but rather a state of being. As the result of his investigations he defined it to be "the regular series of relative, appropriate, characteristic actions in an individual being." In explaining himself however, he says that he by no means intended to say that actions simply could be called life since actions must be wrought by some individual being; they must not be casual or accidental but accordant with the law of the individual's type of being and with a regular law of progression, and they must be dependent upon one another. Life itself therefore must be something which determines the course and regularity of the actions and must be a condition on which all normal action depends. Carrying this idea into theological subjects, his views of both depravity and regeneration were considerably modified. Spiritual death was in his estimation no longer a

complete destitution of a spiritual essence or of natural faculty to love and serve God, but merely a state of mind and heart in which the appropriate and characteristic actions of a holy, moral being were not put forth, and spiritual life was the normal condition of the human mind, the putting forth of all its natural powers in those modes which were characteristic and proper to its being. Regeneration of course would be that process by which a soul dead in sin becomes spiritually alive, i. e. that process by which God induces us freely and voluntarily to exercise all our faculties in obedience to his revealed will. It was therefore entirely a moral change and was effected by God indeed, but through the exercise of our own rational and moral faculties, as our Catechism expresses it, God's Spirit, "convincing us," "enlightening our minds," and so "renewing our wills he doth persuade and enable us to embrace Jesus Christ freely offered to us in the gospel."*

Mr. Duffield was too ingenuous and too anxious to impart to his people the advantages which he believed he had attained, to withhold from them the light which now seemed to beam upon his own mind. He had no idea that he had changed his views of the essential doctrines of the Bible or of the Confession of Faith. Different modes of explaining the same essential truths had always been freely tolerated, and were then extensively prevalent in the church. Neither in his ordination vows,

*"The Principles of Pres. Discipline, unfolded and illustrated in the Protests and Appeals of Rev. George Duffield, entered during the Process in the Presbytery of Carlisle," published at Carlisle, 1835, pp. 91—99.

nor in his intercourse with his brethren had he ever agreed to interpret the doctrines of the Standards in the same terms which were current in any one school or party. Nor did he feel himself bound to use or to prefer the precise phraseology or arrangement which was used in the Confession of Faith, as if it were absolutely the best for exhibiting any doctrine of his system. He held firmly and with growing intelligence to all the "points" of the Calvinistic system, but he felt at liberty to give them new positions in his theological scheme, greater or less prominence in his preaching, and sometimes a more popular or more exact phraseology, according to the wants of his people and the requirements of modern thought.* Under an impression that he had mystified and perplexed the minds of his people by certain explanations, which had been derived not from the Bible but from an antiquated philosophy, he now felt bound to return to greater Scriptural simplicity and the language of common life. He therefore embraced an early opportunity to explain in a series of discourses, the change which had taken place in his views ; and early in 1832, he published a large volume entitled "Spiritual Life, or Regeneration illustrated in a series of disquisitions relative to its Author, Subject, Nature, Means, &c." This volume was "affectionately dedicated" "to the members of his charge" "as an atonement for occasional attempts, in the early period of his ministry among them to explain the great fact of a sinner's regeneration by the aid of a philosophy imbibed in his theological edu-

*Principles of Pres. Discipline, pp. 87—91.

cation, and interwoven in many of his exhibitions of Scriptural truth, but for years past repudiated." In his preface to that work he also expressed his "deep regret for the influence which these philosophical views had had on his early ministrations among the people of his charge, and his conviction that they had seduced him from that simple testifying to matters of fact which should characterize the preaching of him who desires to be blessed by the Spirit of truth."*

The same principles of interpreting the Scriptures, and the same philosophic views, had an equal influence upon his explanation of other doctrines. In some instances the change he introduced into his preaching and writings was only in the form of expression, as when the word "constitution" was substituted for the word "covenant," and the word "imputation" was entirely dropped while the old idea was sought to be conveyed by equivalent language. In other instances a former theory was rejected but the same general doctrine was maintained; as when he denied that an infant before actual transgression was a sinner in the eye of God, although the sinfulness of his nature was asserted on account of tendencies in the direction of sin derived from common ancestors, tendencies which were certain to result in sin on the first trial; when he limited the application of saving grace not by the purpose of God in the atonement which embraced all men but by the divine purpose in election

* "Spiritual Life, or Regeneration illustrated in a series of Disquisitions relative to its Author, Subject, Nature, Means," &c., by *George Duffield* Carlisle, 1832, pp. V. IX.

which was confined to those within the wise scope of divine mercy; and when he maintained that God required of each moral agent only that for which his natural faculties are adequate under the means of grace and the circumstances in which he lives, although no sinner ever exerts those faculties in obedience to God until he is drawn and inclined to do so by the moral influence of the Holy Ghost. As the best exposition of his views at this time we may refer to a statement of doctrines put forth by the General Assembly (N. S.) of 1837, of which he was a signer and for some time was supposed to be the author, and which was extensively used as an expression of views at the time of the reunion of the general Presbyterian church in 1870.*

The marked prominence which Mr. D. himself gave to his change of views, and the controversial aspect which he imposed upon their utterance, at once attracted much attention and gave offence to many who would have thought but little of it with a more quiet expression. He had in his congregation a number of persons who were capable of appreciating theological statements, and whose minds were not satisfied with his explanations. They were ardently attached to those views which he so zealously assailed as injurious to souls. What he esteemed important enough to renounce with so much earnestness, they were led to think were almost vital to the Christian system. They soon began

**Moore's Digest*, pp. 313—18. Minutes of the Auburn Convention held Aug. 17, 1837, pp. 27—31. Minutes of the Gen. Assembly for 1837, pp. 484—6.

to communicate with each other and with neighboring ministers. Soon after the publication of his book, extracts from it with unfavorable comments appeared in a political paper of Carlisle and in a religious paper of Philadelphia. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Carlisle at Shippensburg, April 11, 1832, a few months after its publication, it was laid before that body, and a Committee was appointed to examine it, and report to the next meeting whether any and if any what action ought to be taken with reference to it. At the next meeting in June this Committee made a report in which they alleged that the Book contains doctrines "in opposition to those of the Confession of Faith and on subjects essential to the gospel scheme of salvation." "In many parts of the work," the Committee said, "the language is exceedingly obscure or equivocal, many theological terms and phrases long in use and well understood are set aside, and a new phraseology is introduced unnecessary and often unintelligible to most readers; which things are calculated greatly to embarrass and mislead even honest inquirers after truth who are not accustomed to very elaborate investigations; and although the work sometimes professes to set aside all philosophy and to adhere simply to Scripture and to facts, yet does the author range through every department of natural science, and it is evident that his philosophy respecting the nature of life runs through the greater part of the work and gives character to it." This part of the report was subsequently adopted by a majority of the Presbytery as an expression of their own views, and after declaring the

doctrines alluded to to be erroneous and contrary to the doctrines of the Bible and the standards of the church, all the ministers, elders and people under their charge were "most solemnly and affectionately warned to guard against such distracting and dangerous errors." A minority however complained to Synod of this action as an unauthorized attack upon the writer and yet denying him the privileges and forms of a judicial process. Synod entertained the complaint and proceeded to hear the parties, but just as it was about to decide upon the merits of the case, the process was arrested and the complaint dismissed on the ground that the principal complaint and that on which the whole rested was that Mr. D. had been condemned as heretical without charges, citation or judicial process by the condemnation of his book; and that they now learned that Presbytery was about to remove this ground by commencing and issuing a process against him as soon as possible. Presbytery was then enjoined to bring the contemplated trial to an issue at an early date. A meeting was accordingly held by Presbytery during the same meeting of Synod in Lewistown, and a Committee was appointed to prepare charges against Mr. Duffield personally, and to report at the next meeting. This Committee reported at Newville, Nov. 28, 1832, that "the Rev. George Duffield may be fairly charged on the ground of common fame with maintaining and industriously propagating both from the pulpit and through the press, the following doctrines or opinions either absurd in themselves or directly at variance with some of the most important and vital doc-

trines and truths taught in the standards of the Presbyterian church and the word of God, viz.:—

1. That “life consists in the regular series of relative, appropriate, characteristic actions in an individual being,” and that the life of God himself is not distinguishable from his own holy volitions and actions.
2. That the human soul equally with the body is derived from the parents by traduction or natural generation—that the body and the soul are alike developed in their actions respectively—and that the soul as created by God and brought into connection with the body, “whether in conception, quickening or in the first inspiration” is wholly destitute of all capacities whatever.
3. That the image of God, in which man or Adam was originally created, principally consisted in a three-fold life with which he was endowed by his Creator, viz.: vegetable, animal, and spiritual life.
4. That Adam was not the federal covenant head of the human race—that he sustained no other relation to his posterity but that of a natural parent, and that there did not exist anything that could be properly denominated a covenant relation between God and Adam as the representative of his natural offspring.
5. That Adam’s first sin is in no proper sense imputed to his posterity to their legal condemnation, and that the temporal or natural death of infants is the natural result or consequence of Adam’s sin solely by virtue of their connection with him as a parent.
6. That all holiness and sin consist exclusively in the voluntary acts and exercises of the soul—that there is no principle of holiness or sin inherent in the soul which

exerts any power or causal influence in producing holy or sinful acts and exercises—and that there is no innate, hereditary, derived depravity or corruption in our nature.

7. That no moral character can appropriately be predicated of, or possessed by infants—that they are neither sinful nor holy—are not actually under the government of law, nor above the level of mere animals—and that even our Lord Jesus Christ in his infant state possessed no holiness of character other than what might be affirmed of the Mosaic Tabernacle or inmost chamber of the Temple and other consecrated instruments of Jewish worship; and that our first parents were not created in a state of moral rectitude, i. e. they possessed no holiness or moral character anterior to and independent of their own voluntary exercises; or in other words they had no spiritual life till they acquired it by their own voluntary acts and exercises.

8. That man in his fallen state is possessed of entire ability to repent, believe, and perform other holy exercises independently of any new power or ability imparted to him by the regenerating or new-creating influence of the Holy Ghost. Consequently,

9. That regeneration is essentially a voluntary change or act of the soul—is exclusively the effect of man's own unassisted powers and efforts independently of any divine influence whatever, excepting what is of a mere objective moral kind, or in other language the moral suasion of the Spirit, or the suasive influence of the truth in connection with an arrangement of providential circumstances.

10. That by election in the sacred Scriptures is meant nothing else than the actual selection of a certain portion of men from the great mass, by their being made the subjects of spiritual life which is not possessed by the rest; that it is the actual display of God's sovereignty in making believers alive from the dead or quickening them (believers) from the death of trespasses and sins in which they (believers) in common with all mankind were lying."

These articles were adopted as the items of error which were charged against Mr. Duffield, to which he was cited to give an answer on the eighteenth day of December succeeding in the Presbyterian church of Newville. By a previous engagement Mr. Duffield was absent from home during all the time embraced in the interval between the Presbyterial meeting at Newville on the 29th of November and that to which he was summoned. On reaching home too late to make a suitable preparation for trial, he found also that the ministers and churches of Carlisle had set apart the same day as that on which Presbytery met, to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer on account of the prevalence of the cholera and other diseases which had recently carried off several of the most respectable citizens. He therefore sent to Presbytery a respectful apology for his non-appearance, and suggested that Presbytery should meet at Carlisle. Accordingly he was cited a second time to answer at Carlisle on the second Tuesday of April, 1833.

In the meantime a paper had been circulated in the congregation and been signed by seventy-six persons,

most of whom were communicants, requesting Presbytery to set them off and form them into a Second Presbyterian church in Carlisle. This petition on being presented to Presbytery at its meeting in Newville, Nov. 28, 1832, was complied with and a committee was appointed, to organize the new church "under the care of Presbytery from and after the first day of January next" (1833). This action was earnestly resisted by the pastor and Session, as they alleged, not because they were opposed to the formation of such a church, but on account of what seemed to them the irregularity of the proceeding; inasmuch as the Session was not asked to give letters of dismission, as some of the petitioners were not communicants and were not expected to be so, and as it was not a division of the church, but a setting off of members at their sole request and therefore was subject to the regulations provided for such an occasion. Among the petitioners were three members of Session, four deacons, and a majority of the Board of Trustees; but ten of them were subsequently found not to be communicants, and two communicants afterwards withdrew their names and continued in connection with the original church.

Before the actual organization of the new church, and during the absence of the pastor in New Haven, a meeting of the Board of Trustees was held, at which a majority voted that Twenty-five Hundred Dollars then in bank, the amount remaining from the sale of the Glebe, should be conveyed to Robert Clark and Andrew Blair, in trust for the use of the congregation to be set off, to enable them to build a house of worship.

At the time appointed (April 11, 1833), twenty four ministers and thirteen elders made their appearance at Presbytery ; but as some of these were excused and left during the trial only fifteen ministers and four elders were present at the final verdict. It would be unprofitable to recall all the details of this complicated case, and we shall therefore content ourselves with a notice of such as bore directly upon its merits. Mr. Duffield denied that any "common fame" charged him with the alleged errors until it was raised by the accusers themselves, complained of the indefiniteness of the charges, alleged that several of them were for opinions not condemned or opposed by the standards, and maintained that in others his views were seriously misapprehended. The only evidence relied upon and actually brought forward was the book on Regeneration, extracts from which had been prepared. It was shown, for instance, on the first charge that he had used the language imputed to him, but he replied that he intended only to deny a physical essence of life, and not that there is some determining and uniform cause of the series of acts which he called life. With reference to the second charge it was shown that Mr. D. had said that the *representation* of the Great Three in One as enstamped on men and angels consisted of the three-fold vegetable, animal and spiritual life, but he contended that the absolute image of God *in himself* was not the subject of remark in such expressions. With respect to the fourth charge it was proved that the words "divine constitution" were substituted for the phrase "divine covenant," but they were defended as more likely

to be understood by the ordinary reader and less liable to wrong inferences, and Mr. D. maintained that under that constitution the same representative relation accompanied by the same results to man was intended which had been expressed by the other phrase. Under the fifth charge it was proved that Mr. D. had denied that the sin of Adam's race was a consequence solely of the divine imputation; and that he had maintained that the divine imputation was rather a consequence of God's foreknowledge of their sin, and that it consisted simply in reckoning or accounting or treating them as sinners, on account of the trial to which their nature had been subjected in him. In reply he endeavored also to show that according to his view Adam's sin was in a very different relation to men from other parent's sins, inasmuch as all men were subjected to trial in him and were assumed to be fallen when he fell; and yet he did not deny that he looked upon the sins of the race as following Adam's sin principally in the way of natural consequence. With respect to the sixth charge, it was proved that Mr. D. had maintained that all personal holiness and sin *involved* an exercise of will; but he replied that in so saying he did not deny that there is a propensity to sin in every man as he is born into the world, and a permanent state of the mind and heart produced by the Spirit in regeneration which determines the character of all volition. In proof of the seventh charge, it was shown that Mr. D. had maintained that no being could be responsible and so subject to law, until he had knowledge enough to distinguish right from wrong, and that

though he might have sinful or holy tendencies he could not be called an actual sinner or saint until he had put forth moral exercises; but Mr. D. replied that such a view was not the one charged against him and was not condemned by the standards. Under the eighth count, it was proved that Mr. D. contended that every rational man under the circumstances in which he now lives possesses all the capacities needful for obedience to the requirements of the law or gospel; but Mr. D. maintained that this was consistent with his affirming that such is the obstinacy of the sinful heart that it never does thus obey until drawn by the Spirit of God, with whom it rests to determine whether he shall ever be brought to repentance. On the ninth charge Mr. D. conceded that he had spoken much of the moral suasion of the Spirit and shown how providential circumstances and the truth of God were used in the regeneration of a sinner, and that he had maintained that no sinner could be renewed without the use of divine truth and the voluntary powers of man; but he averred that he had never presumed to determine what was the mode of divine influence, and had laid especial emphasis upon the necessity of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of men. On the tenth charge it was found that Mr. D. had spoken as the scriptures often do, of God in time choosing or electing individuals out of the mass of mankind in actual fact, without denying but rather strenuously maintaining that God had an eternal purpose so to do.

Five days were spent in the trial under circumstances of great excitement and popular commotion. The church

in which the proceedings took place was thronged by eager spectators most of whom had warm partisan feelings which they were not backward to express. On the fifth day, when the roll of Presbytery was called and the vote was taken on each charge separately, it was found that there was not a unanimity of sentiment. On the first charge seven voted against him, four in his favor and six were non-liquet or not expressing an opinion. On the second, the vote stood six against, five in favor, and seven non-liquet. On the third, five voted in favor, six against, and nine non-liquet. On the five next charges the vote stood twelve against, four in favor, and two non-liquet. On the tenth it stood ten against, four in favor and four non-liquet. The last vote stood two against, nine in favor, and seven non-liquet. The following resolution was then adopted, viz.: "As to the counts in which Mr. Duffield has been found guilty, Presbytery judge that Mr. Duffield's book and sermons do contain the specified errors ; yet as Mr. Duffield alleges that Presbytery have misinterpreted some of his expressions, and says he does in fact hold all the doctrines of our Standards, and that he wishes to live in amity with his brethren, and labor without interference for the glory of God and the salvation of souls ;

Therefore, Resolved, that Presbytery at present do not censure him any further than warn him to guard against such speculations as may impugn the doctrines of our church ; and that he study to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

On the succeeding meeting of the Synod of Philadel-

phia (Oct. 31, 1833), the Committee to examine the Records of the Presbytery of Carlisle made a report which was adopted by that body, taking exception to the above decision, on the ground that Mr. Duffield had been condemned on eight out of ten charges deeply affecting his soundness with respect to fundamental truth; and "without receiving from him any confession or acknowledgment of his errors or any pledge that he would henceforth cease to teach and propagate them, Presbytery had resolved not to censure him any further than to warn him," &c.; "Synod cannot approve of this decision." "because it compromises essential truths, defeats the ends of discipline, and under the circumstances of the case presents a result never contemplated by our Constitution, after a judicial conviction upon points involving material departures from the doctrines of our standards."*

The persons who had been organized as a Second Presbyterian church of Carlisle proceeded to hold regular meetings for worship in the Court House, and on the seventh of August, 1833, Rev. Daniel McKinley was installed as their pastor. In a short time a house of worship was erected, and the congregation entered upon a course of prosperity which has continued to the present time.† The number of members in the First church after the dismissal of those who were thus set off appears as reported in the General Assembly's Minutes for the year 1833 to have been Six Hundred and Fifty-two.

*Principles of Pres. Discipline, pp. 113, 123.

†Much effort has been made to obtain a brief history of the Second Pres. Church of Carlisle, but hitherto without success. Should it be procured in season, it will be given in an appendix.

Another powerful work of grace was experienced in the congregation the next year. In 1834 seventy-seven persons were received on profession of their faith, and the church itself was much quickened in its zeal. In this work as well as in previous revivals Mr. Duffield was much assisted by the Rev. Wm. R. Dewitt of Harrisburgh. He was never in the habit of calling for any other aid than that of neighboring pastors, and there was no one to whom he more frequently looked than to this early friend. They had made a profession of religion in the same congregation in New York City, had been educated at the same theological school under the same instructor, and had been settled over neighboring congregations near the same time. Though they differed from each other in some of their theological views they had substantially agreed in their practical measures and in the whole course of Mr. Duffield's trial never could Mr. Dewitt be induced to give his vote against him. For a brief season too they had been permitted to have the presence near them of their former venerated instructor Dr. John M. Mason. While this powerful preacher was obliged to relinquish the pastoral office, and acted as Principal of Dickinson College, he was seldom able to take part in public services, although he became for a while Mr. Duffield's constant hearer. His cordial approbation of the spirit and character of his former pupil's labors he was not backward to express; and the only admonition Mr. Duffield recollects ever to have received from him was one often renewed and always expressed with deep feeling: "You are laboring too

hard, you are killing yourself, and you will not live out half your days." In this, most persons will be inclined to agree with the reprobate when they are informed that at that time Mr. Duffield was in the habit of preaching three times and in seasons of special interest four times each Sabbath, besides frequent preachings and catechetical exercises during the week.*

The time however had now come when Mr. Duffield began to think that he was called to another field of labor. He had more than once been invited to congregations of much greater wealth and influence. During the latter part of the year before (1832), he had on invitation visited the congregation connected with the North Church of New Haven, Conn., but he could not be induced to accept of a call while he was under process of trial before his Presbytery. After that trial however had been concluded, and in the beginning of the year 1835, he received a call from the Fifth Presbyterian church on Arch Street above Tenth, Philadelphia, which he felt it his duty to accept. This action was disapproved of by most of his friends, who contended that he had never been more useful than at that time, but when they found him decided in his convictions of duty, they yielded and made no opposition to his removal. A special meeting of Presbytery was called on the 15th of April, at which the pastoral relation between him and the church was dissolved, and he was dismissed "to connect himself with the General Assembly's Second Presbytery of Philadelphia after a ministry in Carlisle of

*MS. Letters of Dr. Duffield to the writer.

eighteen years. Having spent one pastorate of two years in Philadelphia and another of one year in the Broadway Tabernacle of New York, he removed in Oct., 1838, to the City of Detroit, Mich., where he continued until his death June 26, 1868. In Carlisle and its vicinity where he spent the freshest and most vigorous years of his life, he is remembered with great affection by large numbers whom he led to everlasting life; and by a congregation on which he impressed much of his own religious character. Even those who differed with him and felt constrained to oppose him, always spoke of him with respect and never questioned the purity of his motives, the ardor of his zeal and his devotion to what he looked upon as the cause of Christ.

The congregation, during his ministry was large, intelligent and spiritual. Of the number reported on the records, many undoubtedly were absent and some had ceased to walk with the church. Their names however were not dropped, and a faithful dealing with them in many instances was successful in bringing them to their former standing. The great body of members was united and hearty in sustaining their pastor through his severe trials. This led them at times to share in the censures which fell on him from the Presbytery. Their book of records was more than once severely reviewed, and their decisions were in some cases reversed, on grounds affected by the dissensions of the time. Already had begun to be felt the commotions which finally resulted in the Schism of 1837, and the church of Carlisle had taken a position different from that of most churches in this

region. The time seemed most unfortunate for being left by him who had so long been their conductor, but under judicious men in their Session and with union and life among themselves they cheerfully submitted to what seemed a necessity.

CHAPTER VIII.

MINISTRY OF MESSRS. SPROLE AND NEWLIN.

The session at this time consisted of Thomas Carothers, Thomas Urie, Thomas Trimble, Dr. William C. Chambers, James Loudon, John Halbert, Jacob Shrom, and Ross Lamberton ; with whom was soon after (Oct. 9th, 1834) associated Andrew Carothers Esq. So serious had become the misunderstandings and disagreements between the Session and the Presbytery, with respect to party questions in the church, that all intercourse had become unpleasant. In Session the motives of the majority in Presbytery were suspected in all those acts of review in which the proceedings of Session were excepted to, and in Presbytery the errors of Session were imputed to a factious spirit. The authority of Presbytery had lost its force, and it soon became evident that all injunctions and expostulations from that source were powerless. A member of Session was called to account at its meetings for what was considered a misrepresentation on the floor of Presbytery, but before his case came to adju-

dication he was set off to the new church, and the subsequent proceedings of Session were condemned as irregular and unjust. Ministers and sessions were "enjoined" to "take order in relation to the Act and Testimony which had been issued by a Convention at Pittsburgh, and to forward their names to "The Presbyterian" in Philadelphia ; and when the session of Carlisle protested against that document as unwise and untrue, and against the right of Presbytery to require their action in such a case, their proceedings were characterized as disrespectful. The mode in which their late pastor had obtained a special meeting of Presbytery for his dismission was declared to be liable to suspicion and at the best irregular, and it was alleged that his dismission ought not to have been given until he had explained a transaction of which many of his fellow presbyters complained. After exceptions in strong language had been more than once taken in Presbytery to the records of Session, the book itself was withheld from review ; and delegates were sent to the meetings of Presbytery only as special business called for their presence. The appearance of faction and presumption which such a course might otherwise have worn, was relieved in their eyes by the notorious fact that they were justified by a respectable minority in Presbytery and Synod, and by what was supposed to be a majority in the General Assembly.

Supplies were obtained as soon as the congregation became vacant. John McKnight, Mr. Dewitt and Dr. Cathcart were especially asked for, and appear to have

been frequently present on the Sabbath. On Friday the 18th of Sept., 1835, a meeting of the congregation was held at which a call was made out for the Rev. R. W. Dickinson at that time of the Presbytery of Newcastle, but afterwards a colleague of the Rev. Albert Barnes, of the First church in Philadelphia, promising him a salary of One Thousand Dollars. Permission to prosecute this call was granted by Presbytery, Sept. 25, 1835, but in a short time (Oct. 25), a letter was communicated to Session in which the call was declined. At the latter date the Rev. Mr. Grainger from New England was preaching here, with much acceptance for several weeks. It was not until July 10, 1837, that the congregation actually proceeded to call another pastor. At their request the Rev. Anderson B. Quay, then pastor of the churches of Monaghan and Petersburgh presided at their meeting on that day, at which a call was made out for the Rev. William T. Sprole with a promise of the same salary which had been offered to Mr. Dickinson. When this call was presented to Presbytery and permission was asked to prosecute it (July 20, 1837), some objections were made on the ground that a rule of Presbytery required that when two members of Presbytery asked for it every person admitted as a member should be examined as to his faith, but these were overruled as inappropriate at that stage of the proceedings, and leave was finally granted. It appears that Mr. Sprole, as soon as he received the call, obtained a dismission from the Philadelphia Classis of the German Reformed Church to which he then belonged, and took up his residence

in Carlisle. From that time onward he presided on invitation at the meetings of Session and supplied their pulpit. At a meeting of Presbytery held at Newville (Oct. 3, 1837), two letters from members of the Presbytery of Baltimore were read in which the mode of his leaving that Presbytery some years before, and becoming connected with the German Reformed Classis was complained of, and it was claimed that he could reenter the Presbyterian church only through that body ; and it was therefore "Resolved, That the permission to prosecute the call to Mr. S. was revoked, and that the First Presbyterian church of Carlisle could not be permitted to come under the supervision and care of Mr. S. until the difficulties in the way of his becoming a member of Presbytery were removed." Mr. Spole however continued to preach in Carlisle, and to moderate the Session there, notwithstanding he had been notified of the action of Presbytery. In the meantime the General Assembly of 1838 (N. S.), had erected a new Synod of Pennsylvania to include all those ministers and congregations which had belonged to the Presbyteries of Wilmington, Lewes, Philadelphia Second, Philadelphia Third, Carlisle, Huntingdon and Northumberland, and directed that it should hold its first meeting in the Eleventh Presbyterian church of Philadelphia on the second Wednesday of the succeeding July. On the first day of July, 1838, accordingly, Mr. Thomas Uriel was duly appointed by Session to attend that meeting of the Synod of Pennsylvania, and subsequently he was appointed to attend a meeting of that body in the Third church of Philadel-

phia on the last Wednesday in October. The latter meeting Mr. Uriel subsequently reported that he had attended and had become a member of it. On Saturday March 9, of the next year (1839), a long preamble was adopted reciting the grievances of the church in relation to Presbytery, which was followed by a resolution in which Session declared that it looked upon Carlisle Presbytery "as having lost its right of jurisdiction over" them. At the same time it was "Resolved, That inasmuch as the Synod of Pennsylvania had not yet been able to make arrangements for the formation of a new Presbytery in this region, we do now put ourselves under the spiritual care and protection of the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia, as being the most convenient body under the Constitutional Assembly with which we can connect ourselves." A delegate was appointed (March 24, 1839), to attend a meeting of the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia at West Chester on the second Tuesday of April ensuing, who on the 14th reported that this congregation and Mr. Sprole had been received into that Presbytery according to their request, and that he had laid before it their call to Mr. Sprole with a request for counsel as to the proper mode of procedure. At the meeting of the Pennsylvania Synod in 1839, the Presbytery of Harrisburgh was constituted, and the First church of Carlisle with its Stated Supply were attached to it. Its first meeting was held in Carlisle on the fourth day of March, 1840. On the eleventh of April, 1839, the Presbytery of Carlisle, after a long recital of the history of the case adopted a report

which closed with the following resolution, viz.: "That the First Presbyterian church of Carlisle be considered no longer a constituent part of this Presbytery, nor as belonging to the Presbyterian church of the United States of America, and that its name be stricken from the roll of Presbytery." Thus terminated a series of vexatious proceedings in which many good and well meaning persons were concerned, but in which we presume they themselves have since perceived much of natural infirmity and much of the error which is likely to be engendered from overheated zeal.

Mr. Spole was never installed in Carlisle though he continued there as a Stated Supply until October 22, 1843. He was a man of eloquence and power in the pulpit, and evidently was sincere and earnest in his labors to win souls. During the six years and four months of his ministry here there were admitted to communion by profession of their faith One Hundred and Thirty-seven, and by certificate Thirty-two, in all Three Hundred and Ninety-one. In the winters of 1840 and 1843 especially, he was permitted to witness seasons of uncommon interest and ingathering among his people. In the last mentioned winter he was allowed to spend a portion of his time in protracted services at Mt. Holly, where a Union house of worship then existed; and a large portion of the accession to the communion was from that vicinity. Some of his Session too were disposed to labor with much zeal in the work of converting the impenitent and reclaiming those out of the way. Ross Lamberton was especially prayerful and

earnest, and his name is had in remembrance even to the present day by some as the one who first drew them to a better life. He however took a dismission, Sept. 5, 1841, and became active in building up the College and church of Oberlin, Ohio. Dr. W. C. Chambers was zealous in all the duties of his eldership, though near the time of his removal to Philadelphia (about Oct. 1838) he became involved in some financial difficulties which for a while affected his usefulness. Mr. Thomas Carothers Esq., also possessed much influence, an unblemished reputation, and a hearty earnestness in his religious duties. In 1839 he removed to Harrisburgh, where however he then remained only a year, but in 1843, he took up his residence permanently there. Mr. Trimble was distinguished for accuracy and strict integrity of life, though he was sometimes stern toward the failings of others. For many years as Clerk of Session, as a faithful visitor among the sick and as an unswerving support to what he regarded as the righteous cause he occupied a place which few are capable of filling as well. Owing to some unfortunate differences with their pastor three of the members of Session retired for a while from the active duties of their office and two of them took letters of dismission. All of them however returned either before or soon after his removal. In October, 1843, he received a call from the First Presbyterian church of Washington, D. C., which he complied with, and labored there with much acceptance for several years, until he was appointed a Chaplain at West Point.

Soon after Mr. Sprole's removal (Nov. 20, 1843), Rev.

Daniel L. Carroll, at that time in the Presbyterian Church of the Northern Liberties, Philadelphia, was elected pastor, and for a while gave encouragement that he would accept the call. In the end however he decided to remove to Brooklyn, New York, and a few weeks later (Feb. 12, 1844), Mr. Ellis J. Newlin, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Wilmington was elected, and he was ordained and installed here by the Presbytery of Harrisburgh May 23, 1844. His pastorate was brief, lasting but a little over three years (May 23, 1844—June 30, 1847). The ordinary routine of general prosperity was enjoyed, twenty-five being added to the communion by profession of faith and ten by certificate. Some disturbance was experienced from an effort to restrain a portion of the members from public and promiscuous dancing. We have before noticed that in the formula for public admission to the communion which had been introduced under Mr. Duffield's ministry, each one professing his or her faith, solemnly engaged to avoid among other things "attendance at balls, dancings, theatres and such like demoralizing amusements;" and generally even those who professed to see but little evil in such things, felt bound to abstain from them, from a regard to their engagements and from respect to the warnings and scruples of their stricter friends. There were however some at this time who were unwilling to surrender what they esteemed their liberty in such matters; and when admonished for their breach of covenant and disregard for their fellow-christians' expostulations, they were thought to exhibit disrespect to those who had been set

over them in the Lord. For this latter offence more than for that which had been the occasion for their admonition, they were suspended from communion. Some differences also sprang up between the young pastor and his brethren in the Session. In the end Mr. Newlin came to the conclusion that his usefulness was seriously impaired, and he obtained permission to resign his charge. He subsequently preached at Lynchburg, Va., and in New Jersey.

CHAPTER IX.

• DR. WING'S PASTORATE.

It was during the succeeding winter (Jan. 16, 1848), that the Rev. Conway Phelps Wing, then the pastor of the Presbyterian church of Huntsville, Alabama, was invited to visit Carlisle with a view to his settlement there. He belonged to one of the two great streams of immigration which flowed so abundantly into the Middle States during the latter half of the last and the first of the present century, and contributed about equally to form the Presbyterian church of this country. His ancestors came from England to Massachusetts in 1732, twelve years after the Landing at Plymouth, and were among the original proprietors of Sandwich on Cape Cod, where their descendants are still numerous. His father removed from Conway in Hampshire County, Mass., to

what was then the Western Country, and was for many years a prominent elder in the Presbyterian church of Phelps, Ontario County, N. Y., and frequently was a member of the Presbyteries, Synods and General Assemblies of the church. He became a communicant in his father's church at thirteen years of age, graduated at Hamilton College (1828) and at Auburn Theological Seminary (1831), and was licensed (1831) and ordained (1832) by the Presbytery of Geneva, N. Y., when he was just entering the twenty-first year of his age. It was his privilege to commence his ministry in the midst of the powerful revivals which prevailed throughout Western New York about that time, and he participated in them with great zeal. His firm constitution however yielded to the demands which were then made upon his strength, and he was obliged in the autumn of 1840 to seek rest and a milder climate in the West Indies, and in 1841 in a Southern state. During a journey north in 1843 he had spent two Sabbaths in Carlisle, the memory of which had been retained by the people of that place and had prompted a desire to have him as their pastor. His health had now become so far restored that he was prepared to listen to a call to a more northern field, and after a brief visit and a unanimous call from the congregation, he removed and entered upon his labors here, April 28, 1848. The salary of One Thousand Dollars which was then voted him was at that time considered liberal, and remained without a change until some time during the civil war. His installation took place on the Sabbath, Oct. 15, 1848, at which the sermon was preached by

Rev. Wm. R. Dewitt, D. D., from Psalm 137: 5—6, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem," &c., Rev. D. H. Emerson of York presided and proposed the Constitutional questions, Rev. William Sterling of Williamsport, Pa., gave the charge to the pastor, and Rev. Charles F. Diver, the charge to the people.

The number of communicants at this time after purging the roll was found to be two hundred and sixty-three. The Session consisted of James Loudon, Jacob Shrom, John Halbert and Charles Ogilby, two of whom however were not at that time active in Session. Mr. Shrom had taken a letter of dismission to the Methodist church, but was soon induced to return his letter and resume his place in the eldership, and Mr. Halbert had ceased to serve on account of a difficulty of hearing. Messrs. Joseph D. Halbert and James Ralston were soon afterwards chosen and ordained (Dec. 2, 1849) in addition to them.

The Sabbath School had become much diminished in numbers and in efficiency during the unsettled state of the church for the last few years. It was now reorganized and began to receive a larger share of attention. A recurrence however to a period even so recent will be sufficient to bring to mind the progress which has been made in this important part of church work during the last quarter of a century. The library consisted of about a hundred volumes, belonging to a class of books which has now become nearly obsolete. The religious narratives and works of fiction which have since become so important a part of our juvenile literature were just

beginning to be introduced, and were looked upon with much jealousy. The hymns and music were either so childish on the one hand, or so didactic on the other that they failed to enlist the attention of most children or teachers. Mr. W. B. Bradbury was just turning the minds of the people to a more attractive style of Sunday School music. The way which he opened was soon thronged by others, whose names have become familiar to our youth. Sabbath Bells, Golden Chains and Censers, Happy Voices, Bright Jewels, and Pure Gold, with many other collections in rapid succession came into use and soon revolutionized the spirit of our schools. There had always been question books, but very few helps for the teachers; no lesson leaves or blackboards or object teachings; few maps or illustrated periodicals; and picnics, excursions and Christmas celebrations were yet uncommon. A number of Sabbath School Institutes were held in the town and gave higher views of the qualifications needful for teachers, and of the importance of their work. A primary department was organized in the summer of 1848 which has ever since constituted an efficient branch of the school.

The commander of the military station for cavalry near town, for several years had been Col. Edwin V. Sumner who has since been distinguished as a Major General in the regular army during the civil war. As he and his family were constant worshippers and some of them communicants in this congregation, he gave an invitation to the soldiers of the Garrison to come with him to the same house of worship. None were com-

elled to attend, but those who voluntarily complied with the request of the commander were required to conform to such regulations as were needful for discipline, and hence they were marched into and from the gallery of the church out of the hours of service. For some time after his removal and his employment in the Mexican war, his family continued to reside here and the presence of these soldiers formed a pleasant feature of our assembly.

As the revenue of the congregation had for some time been insufficient to meet expenses, a debt of Two Thousand Four Hundred Dollars had been accumulated, and was the source of uneasiness. The readiness of the people to contribute for such an object was shown when the pastor spent three days in soliciting subscriptions, and the whole was at once removed. A slight inattention to yearly deficiencies not unfrequently runs up a discouraging amount of debt which is the more oppressive when no permanent acquisition of property is perceptible.

Feeling that the reading of his people was of importance in enlarging their views and in interesting them in the affairs of the general church and the progress of Christ's kingdom, an effort was made by the pastor to supply them with periodicals of the best character. In his pastoral visits he took pains to inquire what was the kind of reading which prevailed among the young, whether any religious papers were taken, and whether those taken were of a character to strengthen the attachment of the people to their church and the several

objects of benevolence. In the course of three years, he was successful in introducing, in addition to those taken before, more than fifty copies of the New York Evangelist, as many of the Christian Observer, eighteen of the Presbyterian Quarterly Review, (July 27, 1857), and a large number of temperance papers. Besides these a number of sets of the Evangelical Family Library, consisting then of twenty-four volumes published by the American Tract Society were introduced into those families in the country which had not the advantage of the Sabbath School Library in town. The old practice of holding catechetical classes had for some time been suspended, under an impression that their place was supplied by the Sabbath School, but the result had been so unfavorable that the Westminster Catechism had been very little committed to memory. A merchant of the City of New York, about 1859, proposed in one of the newspapers that he would give "a beautiful gilt-edged and gold-clasped Bible to every person whose pastor would certify that he or she had perfectly recited the Shorter Catechism." This offer was published to the Sabbath School and congregation, and the result was the first year that thirty-eight young people received the prize. For years afterwards, when misfortune in trade had prevented the original donor from continuing his gifts, the same offer was continued by others, and for a number of years from eighteen to twenty Bibles were distributed for these perfect recitations. Near the time at which this effort was made, the pastor commenced monthly or quarterly lectures to the youth of

his charge. These were given in the afternoon of the Sabbath when the young people with as many of their parents as inclined to be present were collected in the church, and each class of the Sabbath School was called upon to recite a portion of the Shorter Catechism, and a discourse was given especially addressed to the young. This practice was kept up until 1863, when it was discontinued. There were three preaching stations within the bounds of the congregation which were often supplied in the afternoons of the Sabbath. These were of great utility in awakening interest among some who could not otherwise be attracted to the meetings of the congregation, and not less than a dozen families were thereby induced to become valuable pewholders in the church. On the 7th of January, 1849, a house owned principally by members of the congregation, but called a Union church, was dedicated to divine worship, and was used for these meetings in Plainfield. A house under similar arrangements had been built some years before at what was then called Papertown, now Mount Holly. These, with Ege's Forge, and other occasional preaching places, were supplied frequently for some years, until a hemorrhage of the lungs warned the pastor that three services on the Sabbath were more than he could safely attend.

Near the commencement of his pastorate a change took place in the policy of the Temperance movement. Without giving up efforts to reclaim the inebriate the attention of the benevolent was especially directed to the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drinks. It was thought expedient to secure if possible the election

to the Legislature of men who were in favor of withholding all license to sell intoxicating liquors except for mechanical and medicinal purposes, and by much effort for several years success was attained in this direction. But through the clamors of interested parties and the persevering ingenuity of political men and judges, the laws for the suppression of the traffic were repealed before they could have a fair trial. Enough however was attained to satisfy the friends of these enactments, that nothing was wanting but an enlightened public opinion, and the same vigilance which is exercised with respect to other pernicious practices, to reach as perfect a success as has been attained in the suppression of other vices. A confident belief has therefore become fixed in the minds of the friends of temperance, that no great measure of success can be expected in this movement, except by the course here pointed out, and they continue to look with hope toward such a result. Slowly but surely the discipline of the church has been tending toward the entire extinction of the traffic among its members. The General Assembly of both branches of the church before the Reunion took the position that no one should be tolerated in communion who sells intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and the General Assemblies of the Reunited church have a number of times reaffirmed such deliverances. The Synod of Harrisburgh and the Presbytery of Carlisle (1871) have been quite as explicit and decisive. On the 22d of March, 1871, after careful and mature deliberation Session adopted the following preamble and resolutions, viz.: "Whereas, the habitual engage-

ment in the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits as a beverage, has been repeatedly pronounced by the General Assemblies of both the late branches of the Presbyterian church an immorality which ought not to be tolerated and should be proceeded against as an offence of the most serious kind when found in the church; and, Whereas, some doubt has been expressed among our people regarding the position which the First Presbyterian church of Carlisle desires to maintain with respect to this matter; Therefore, Resolved I. That hereafter no person shall be admitted to the communion of this church who is known to be engaged in the business of manufacturing or selling ardent spirits as a beverage; Resolved II. That those persons already in our communion who are engaged in this business be informed of this action and admonished that they will be expected to withdraw as speedily as possible from their employment, or they will be dealt with as public offenders against the purity and peace of the church." It was not long before the sincerity and firmness with which this principle was put forth, was subjected to a severe test, for some of those who had long been communicants were found to be engaged in the traffic. After much remonstrance and patient forbearance with them, and when they had declared themselves unprepared to renounce their business, they were suspended from communion until they should give evidence of repentance.

For many years the congregation was like many others perplexed as to the best method of taking up contributions for benevolent objects and for promoting a spirit

of benevolence. In the early part of this pastorate, the different objects which had been agreed upon were presented to the people by the minister, and the members were left to their own consciences without further solicitation to hand in their contributions to the treasurer of the congregation during the succeeding month. It was hoped that such a method would train and educate each one's own conscience and feeling of responsibility better than by personal application by solicitors, and for eight or ten years this method was thought to be successful. But in course of time many became negligent, and the amount of contributions was diminished. It was then exchanged for what has been called the "Envelope system." Eight causes were selected for presentation to the congregation during the year from the pulpit, after which a printed card was sent in an envelope by a messenger to each family in town, and by mail to each family in the country, in which the wants of the cause were briefly made known, and all were invited to contribute something and hand it in the same envelope into the contribution box on the Sabbath or to the Treasurer of the congregation. For a number of years this method was pursued with varying success until the close of this pastorate.

The organ which is now in use was purchased and set up in 1857. Some objections were made by a few individuals who were opposed to all instrumental music in public worship, but no serious interruption was made to the harmony of the congregation. During the same year the congregation celebrated the One Hundredth

Anniversary of the building of their house of worship. According to a letter of General John Armstrong before noticed, on the second day of July, 1757, the people "began to haul stones for the building of a meeting house on the public square," and it was thought that the day so indicated was as appropriate as any for such a celebration. In consequence of the absence of the pastor during the month of May, to fulfil an appointment of the General Assembly to initiate a correspondence with the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian church at Cedarville, Ohio, the publication of the appointment was delayed; but on his return letters were sent to all ministers and laymen in different parts of the country who had once been members of this church, inviting them to attend. On so brief a notice many of these found it inconvenient to be present, but sent letters communicating their good wishes and their reminiscences. Among these were Drs. Erskine Mason and John M. Krebs of New York, and a number of prominent ministers in the church. Among those present were Dr. Talbot W. Chambers of the Collegiate Dutch churches of New York, and Rev. George Duffield Jun., then of Philadelphia. Dr. George Duffield of Detroit, a former pastor, had been invited to deliver an Historical Discourse, but he was detained on his way by an accident which prevented his presence on that day. A large multitude however were gathered together and were interested in addresses by Dr. DeWitt of Harrisburgh, so long intimately connected with and so much beloved by the congregation, and by Messrs. Duffield and Chambers, as

well as in the numerous letters which were read. On the next Sabbath Dr. Duffield, who had reached town on the day after the celebration, gave the Historical Discourse which he had prepared, and which was afterwards published. The assembly gathered to hear him was quite equal to that of the preceding Thursday, and few then present will forget his touching allusions to the scenes in which he had been himself a principal participant. The Saturday before was spent by a select company, including Dr. Duffield and a number of ladies and gentlemen from a distance at the old Cemetery near the Meeting House Springs, where inscriptions fast becoming illegible, with the coats of arms and other symbolical figures were transcribed by a skilful lady artist, and an ode which had been prepared for the occasion by D. Be-thune Duffield Esq., of Detroit was read and sung with enthusiasm.

Two years after his settlement (Oct., 1850) Mr. W. was requested by the Faculty and students of Dickinson College to perform the duties of the professorship which had been left vacant by the transfer of Dr. William H. Allen to the Presidency of Girard College in Philadelphia, and which could not be filled until the next annual meeting of the Trustees. As the amount of labor which this would impose, in addition to the care of a congregation seemed too much for his time or strength, he at first consented to perform only one-half the duties of this professorship, but it was not long before he was induced to undertake them all. So jealous was he lest this should infringe upon his labors as a pastor, that he was

more than usually abundant in his ministerial labors, and it pleased the great Head of the church especially to bless his people and to increase the number of converts that winter. The largest addition to the communion which was had during his ministry here, took place during the year 1858. As a mark of their appreciation of his labors as well as of their general esteem, the Trustees of the college bestowed upon him this year an honorary degree. Four invitations to change his pastoral relations and to take charge of larger and more prominent congregations about this time he saw fit to decline.

The experience of this year was profitable in teaching him how much could be accomplished by a careful economy of time, and in cultivating a knowledge of general literature and science. No sooner therefore did the year of his engagement in college expire, than he devoted a larger portion of his time to the study of the Ancient and Modern Languages. Not only was an ardent love for the Original Languages of Scripture developed, but by the acquisition of the German and French which had been commenced some years before but were now resumed with avidity, new and abundant theological treasures were opened to him. His people soon began to receive the benefit of these studies through the preaching of several courses of Expository Lectures, the First extending over the whole book of Genesis, and the Second over the Acts of the Apostles. The intention of these lectures, besides that of Scriptural exposi-

tion in general was, to present the fundamental principles of the Old and New Testament dispensations, to go back to the originals, the "First Things" both of the Ancient and the Christian church, and to trace their development into subsequent systems. Two other courses of Lectures were of a different character and were prepared for a different purpose. The first was commenced in May, 1864, and extended to eighteen discourses on the character, mission and life of Elijah; the second embracing ten discourses, was begun in Feb. 1869, and was intended to meet the most popular sceptical objections to religion. These were carefully prepared, fully written out and delivered on the evenings of the Sabbath when the audience was usually of a miscellaneous character.

The pew-rents at Mr. Wing's settlement were not sufficient to produce the amount needful for current expenses and it became necessary to complement them by a subscription of Two Hundred Dollars. After a while the price of pews was raised so as to render the revenue adequate to the entire necessities of the congregation. Accordingly when in April, 1864, the salary was raised to Twelve Hundred and in Oct. 27, 1867, when it became Fifteen Hundred Dollars, the assessments were proportionally increased. In a short time after his settlement all the pews which were looked upon as rentable were taken up, and continued so until the last year of his pastorate. After the utmost division of the pews among those who attended regularly upon public wor-

ship, it was for a number of years difficult to accommodate all who applied for sittings. Several families were compelled to find pews in the gallery.

This prosperity was attained in spite of a number of untoward circumstances. As the First Presbyterian church of Carlisle was almost alone in this region in its connection with the New School Branch of the Presbyterian church, most of those who came to reside in town from churches in the vicinity were naturally directed to a church of the same ecclesiastical connection as the church they were leaving; and those who lived at that period will remember the strong prejudices with which the two branches of the church then regarded one another. For several years most of the Sessions in this vicinity refused to grant letters to their members to unite with this church, but when certificates were presented here, they were generally directed to "any church within the bounds of which the bearer might reside." Exchanges between ministers of the two branches were almost unknown. Soon after the settlement of Rev. Merwin E. Johnston (Aug. 22, 1848) in the Second Presbyterian church, this state of things was partially broken through, certificates of dismission were given by that church in the usual form, and the pastors of the two churches freely exchanged pulpits with each other. From that time onward the congregations recognized each other with the same courtesies which were common between different evangelical denominations; yet notwithstanding such indications of returning fellowship, it was natural for Presbyterians from the surrounding congregations to

find their church relations in the same ecclesiastical connection. The large numbers who had usually come forward to communion under former pastorates, were now also divided to the two congregations in the borough, and the permanent character of the population required but few additions or dismissions in the course of a generation.

Near the close of the year 1856 the congregation authorized its Board of Trustees to make a number of repairs and improvements in its house of worship. By the middle of the succeeding January (1857), the church was reopened, with its interior repainted, its walls frescoed, its gallery remodelled and the large pillars which before supported it removed, gas-lights inserted, a new heating apparatus supplied, and new seats introduced to the Lecture room. By this improved arrangement a number of pews were brought into demand which had seldom before been called for, and their rents soon nearly compensated for the additional expense.

A year afterwards (Jan. 13-18, 1858) was commenced the practice of holding protracted services every winter for the awakening of religious interest in the congregation. This increased labor was lightened by the assistance of some neighboring minister which was generally reciprocated by a similar service. For the first two years the preaching was by Dr. John McLeod of Philadelphia, whose impressive illustrations of divine truth were successful in bringing a large number who had long been halting between two opinions to become decided friends of Christ. On two other years Rev. Wm.

E. Moore then of West Chester now of Columbus, Ohio, was present with similar results.

Any history of the religious progress of this period would be defective which did not give prominence to the growth of a fraternal spirit among the different denominations of Christians. The formation of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846, and its several meetings and publications, its annual recommendations of the observance of a week of prayer at the commencement of each year in behalf of objects of common interest, and the unanimity and heartiness with which this observance was adopted by the several branches of Christ's church, were productive of marked effects in the removal of ecclesiastical bitternesses. Many ministers and private Christians now living can recollect the time when few sermons were preached in which some unkind reference was not made to brethren of another name but of the same essential faith. Such allusions would hardly be indulged in or tolerated now in any intelligent congregation, and it is to be hoped that the name of Christian is generally much dearer to every believer than any other. This congregation with its pastor was always in the advanced rank of every movement in behalf of catholicity and union. Ardently attached to its own name, usages and standards, it looked upon these as valuable mainly for a higher end. It was always prominent in the initiation and support of union meetings either annually on the first week of the year, or on other occasions for prayer and praise. So great was the interest connected with the week of prayer that sometimes its services had all

the spirit and character of a revival. Ordinarily they were held one day in each of the churches of the borough, at which were delivered either a discourse by some minister or addresses by several persons. In 1862 however these meetings were protracted for three successive weeks and were attended by crowded audiences. During the first week those topics were presented for prayer and consideration which had been proposed by the Evangelical Alliance, the second week was given up to an exposure of the various vices which prevailed in our own community, and the third was devoted to the awakening and conversion of men to God. Christian associations and Sabbath School conventions were always welcomed and cheered forward by hearty cooperation.

In 1860 (Sept. 10), the "Church Psalmist," a collection of Psalms and Hymns made under the direction of the General Assembly was introduced for use in public worship. A smaller collection of hymns was soon afterward obtained for more convenient use in the Lecture-room. Much credit is due to a few leading persons in the choir for their fidelity, harmony and perseverance in leading the congregation in its singing. During the whole course of his ministry here, the pastor recollects no instance of a serious difficulty among the members of the choir. For the greater portion of that time a high standard of excellence has been maintained in the style and spirit of its exercises.

In the same year (April 8, 1860), four additional elders were ordained, viz.: Joseph C. Hoffer, Henry A.

Sturgeon, Henry Harkness and John R. Turner. The two former had been nominated by the Session with some others who declined serving, and the two latter were nominated in the public meeting at which they were chosen. Soon after, the whole congregation was laid off into districts or (as they were called in former times) *quarters*, and one district was assigned to each elder, that he might as often as possible visit each communicant or other person who might be benefited by such attention, have an oversight of the spiritual condition of the members, and report occasionally to the pastor and Session. This arrangement was carried out for one or two years with obvious benefits, but was not prosecuted with the energy which its importance demanded. In compliance with a request of the Presbytery of Harrisburgh that each congregation under its charge should have written a History of its organization and progress, a narrative was prepared for the Church of Carlisle and was the occasion for the commencement of the present work.

We are now brought to the period of the civil war, when the principles of every one in our community were severely tested. It was not surprising that there should have been some differences of opinion on questions of policy. Many residing in this region, so near the borders of the strife, were closely connected with the South by family relationships, by former residence and by commercial intercourse. Political considerations too not unfrequently biassed the judgments of many in opposition to the men and measures of another party. At the

commencement of the struggle there were not a few honest men who were dismayed at the gigantic proportions and unanimity of the insurrectionary forces, and they were incredulous with respect to the power of government to subdue them. On questions of principle however it was refreshing to find that our people were not divided. Their votes were given for the righteous cause and against the extension of slavery, whatever might be the consequences, leaving the result with God. If any exceptions were found to this, it was under some mistaken view of the case. The spirit with which our people rose above all selfish interest and fears, and planted themselves on moral and humanitarian principles, was calculated to give one confidence in the social instincts of men and the doctrines of universal suffrage.

On the first call for enlistments, a large number of our youth and middle aged men pressed forward to the front. Three companies of volunteers were formed at once, whose officers and men were taken from the most respectable families of the place. As they departed they were cheered by a large assemblage of citizens in the church and on the public square, with earnest prayers and the presentation of a bible to each soldier. In the public assemblies of each Sabbath, no prayers were more hearty and fervent than those for the soldiers in the field, and for those in authority. When news of disaster came (as too frequently they did come during the first three years), each man and woman seemed as if some best beloved one had been laid in the grave; and when joyful tidings came, the bells were rung and thanksgivings went up, as

if a load were taken from a multitude of hearts. The thousands upon thousands of troops which rushed from north to south through our town were met by day and by night at the cars with refreshments and benedictions. A soldier going to the field was everywhere greeted with the highest honors. Women in every house knitted and sewed and prepared lint; men prayed and counseled and helped forward recruits; and even children denied themselves, made collections and sent cheering messages for absent soldiers. A few who sympathized with the rebels, were obliged to keep silence, or to leave for a more congenial clime.

The pastor and Session and all the leading men of the congregation were entirely agreed as to the course they should pursue. Their influence was unequivocally on the side of the government and the laws. Merely party questions were avoided in public, but no one was allowed to doubt that every feeling of our souls was for the suppression of the rebellion. If two or three persons felt constrained on this account to forsake the congregation, a still larger number were attracted thereby to unite with it. It was not surprising therefore that when the town was in possession of the enemy this congregation was especially obnoxious to them. Large numbers of fugitive slaves from Virginia and Maryland near the commencement of the war took refuge in our town, and these with their children were gathered into classes to be taught to read and to be instructed in religion. A school for instruction in reading was maintained in a private dwelling for several months, and nearly two hundred colored peo-

ple were collected each Sabbath morning in the gallery of the church under the superintendence of the pastor's wife and a corps of like minded teachers. The eagerness exhibited by these people to acquire a knowledge of the New Testament was an ample reward for the self-denial of the teachers. They have since succeeded with the assistance of their numerous friends in erecting a neat and substantial brick church, and now form a respectable congregation in connection with the Zion Methodist church.

On Saturday about noon, the 27th of July, 1863, the town was taken possession of by a detachment of General Ewell's Confederate forces under the command of Col. Jenkins. This was the left division of the advance of the rebel army for the invasion of Pennsylvania by way of Harrisburgh and York. It had been preceded by a flying portion of Milroy's defeated corps; and by the 8th and 71st New York regiments, whose retreat had prepared the inhabitants for the coming of the enemy. Gen. Knipe, the commanding officer under Gen. Couch, had given orders to the troops to evacuate the place, and to the three companies of militia to disband; and by the time the Confederate troops arrived, the horses and cattle to as great an extent as possible had been driven over the Susquehanna, the refugee families had absconded and much property had been removed to places of safety. The troops marched into town in good order, private citizens were not seriously molested, and all were informed that if the public demands were complied with the houses of the citizens would not be entered without their consent.

This assurance did not give entire confidence, and the next day most of the people were unwilling to leave their homes to attend worship for fear that in their absence marauding parties might enter them. Two or three churches were opened, and although no houses were entered without permission from the occupants, the requests of armed men were looked upon as peremptory. Shops and stores were also entered for the purpose of making inventories of goods for future use. Large exactions were made the next day upon all merchants, shopkeepers, farmers and mechanics for everything which could be used by the army, and trains of loaded wagons were sent off continually to the South. Early on Tuesday morning however, troops began to leave town having received marching orders from Gen. Lee to fall back and join the main army at Gettysburgh. By eight o'clock, A. M., they had disappeared, and it was supposed they had all gone. But at 2 o'clock, P. M., a body of 400 cavalry under the command of Col. Cochran came in on the Dillstown road and having obtained intoxicating liquors became riotous and alarming, but on the arrival of Col. Jenkins they were sent off. Several regiments of Union troops now made their appearance and took possession of the town. But scarcely had they staked their arms before a body of the enemy under Fitzhugh Lee came in by way of the South Mountain. On finding the town in possession of our troops, they took position over the Letort, by the gas-works on the east of the Borough. On the refusal of Gen. Smith to surrender they commenced shelling the town. A panic ensued which was

well nigh universal; men, women and children fled, mostly on foot into the country, or took refuge in cellars and houses out of the range of the shells. At night the Barracks and the gasworks were burned, and the shelling was continued at intervals until three in the morning, when the last rebel force stole quietly away in the direction of Boiling Spring and Mount Holly, to take part in the terrible fight at Gettysburgh. The next year another invasion of Pennsylvania created equal alarm and nearly as much suffering, although our town was not actually reached by the enemy. News of the burning of Chambersburg (July 29th, 1864), were accompanied by threats of a more signal vengeance on Carlisle from Gen. McCausland who commanded the invading force. A flight of the inhabitants now took place more general and more disastrous than that of the year before. Every retired spot in the country and in the mountains became a secret depository for goods, now the opportunity for transportation by rail-road was cut off. The churches were crowded with suppliants who turned from the protection of men to that of God. Our people were however spared another occupation of the town by the enemy, although a few of Stuart's cavalry still lingered near a gap of the North Mountain and some companies of our soldiers were said to have been driven from the neighboring Barracks.

After the battle of Gettysburg, many Union soldiers were brought to town wounded, sick and worn out, and were committed to the care of our citizens. It was vacation in college, and its rooms and chapel were thrown open

for a hospital for the patients. An old stone church formerly occupied by the Seceders, or Associate Presbyterians, was also used for this purpose when the college was needed for the students, and was filled with invalids during the subsequent autumn. The ministers, the physicians and the benevolent ladies of our community devoted much of their time cheerfully to an attendance upon these men. None appeared to grow weary. Sympathies and benevolent feelings were brought into activity which have since found other directions. The First Presbyterian congregation had to bear its full share of the usual vicissitudes of war. Two persons connected with it attained the rank of Brigadier General; three to that of commissary or captain; more than thirty met death in some form on the battle field, in the hospital or in the prisons of the enemy; and a number were crippled or diseased for the remainder of their lives. The several recommendations of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities to observe days of fasting and prayer or of thanksgiving were faithfully attended to, and finally when the whole nation was thrown into mourning for the assassination of its beloved President the congregation united in public services of sincere and profound grief (April 19, 1865). On the day which was devoted to his funeral, when Congress and all the officers of government were assembled around his remains at Washington, the people throughout the land were invited to assemble at the same hour in their houses of worship to unite in spirit in the same solemnities. The appropriate text which was the theme of

discourse here was II Samuel XIX : 2, "And the victory that day was turned into mourning." Our honored President had conducted us through the dark days of the conflict, and just as he gave us the note of triumph he was summoned to a reward, we doubt not, higher than earth could give.

On the 28th day of June, 1863, while in the midst of alarms at the anticipated invasion of the enemy, we had to mourn also the loss of Joseph D. Halbert, one of the elders and the treasurer of the church, in the fortieth year of his age. About two years before, Jacob Shrom, another and still older member of the Session had been called to his rest.

Soon after the close of the war (Oct. 18, 1865), the Synod of Pennsylvania with which this congregation was connected, and the Synod of Baltimore with which the Second Presbyterian church of Carlisle was connected, met on the same day in this town. In these two Synods were to be found some of the most distinguished ministers of the two branches of the Presbyterian denomination. It was natural that some intercourse of a pleasant character should take place between the members, and finally the two Synods met together in the First church and participated in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Rev. Albert Barnes of Philadelphia, and Dr. Phineas D. Gurley of Washington City, led in the administration of the ordinance. The proposal for this union came very appropriately from the Baltimore Synod, but it was accepted with sincere cordiality by the other Synod, and was

looked upon as going far to break down inveterate prejudices in this region and as an omen of better times.

In fact it had now become evident that "there had sprung up among all classes of Christian people a widespread and earnest longing for more of visible unity."* Among the ministers and laity, especially in the large cities and towns, had been developed a spirit of cooperation between different denominations in every department of benevolent effort. It was perceived that these tendencies could not much longer be resisted, and that they imperatively demanded a reunion of the two branches of the Presbyterian church. Many circumstances had changed during the thirty years in which these had been separated. Ecclesiastical grounds of controversy had been almost entirely removed. Differences in doctrine had been found to be by no means as fundamental to their confessional system as had once been suspected. Accordingly when the two General Assemblies met in 1866 in St. Louis, "an earnest desire" was expressed in both "for reunion at the earliest time consistent with agreement in doctrine, order and polity, on the basis of the common standards and the prevalence of mutual confidence and love;" and when a committee was appointed in each for mutual conference on the most favorable terms of reunion, it was found that an organic union was only a question of time and method.† The Joint Committee then appointed was continued from year to year and at each step reported that the

*Minutes of the Gen. Assembly for 1868, p. 29.

†*Ditto*, for 1867, pp. 481—3.

obstacles which at first seemed formidable were daily becoming less. Other branches of the Presbyterian family participated in the common impulse. An invitation from the Reformed Presbyterian Synod for "a Convention of delegates from all Presbyterians in the United States in the First Ref. Pres. church of Philadelphia, Nov. 6-8, 1867," met with a hearty response and resulted in a nearly unanimous recommendation of a general reunion of all the bodies there represented "on the simple basis of the Westminster standards." In accordance with the suggestions of that Convention, numerous other Conventions were held in smaller districts of country for the furtherance of the same design. The pastor of this church was active not only in the Philadelphia Convention but in assemblies of a similar character in Harrisburgh and in Perryville during the same year. He was a commissioner from his Presbytery in the General Assembly in the church of the Covenant in New York May 20-31, 1869, which made the final arrangements for the reunion, and adjourned to consummate the organization in Pittsburgh Nov. 10-12, 1869. He was also a member of the Joint Committee of Ten whose duty it was "to prepare and propose to the first Assembly of the Reunited church, a proper adjustment of the boundaries of Presbyteries and Synods, the ratio of representation, and any amendments of the Constitution which they may think necessary to secure efficiency and harmony in the administration of the church." This Committee held three meetings each of nearly a week's continuance in the city of Philadelphia, and accomplish-

ed one of the most laborious tasks which the process of reorganization required, and their report, after some amendments was adopted with the thanks of the Assembly of 1870. In this reconstruction the First church of Carlisle fell within the limits of the reorganized Presbytery of Carlisle to which it gave in its adhesion and appointed a delegate, Oct. 3, 1870.

Near the commencement of the next year (Jan. 15, 1871), it was thought needful to have an enlargement of the number of elders. A meeting of the congregation being called for that purpose, Dec. 18, 1870, an election was postponed for two weeks "in order to inquire into the expediency of adopting what had been called 'the Rotary system,' or that which prescribes a limited term of service to those who act as elders." This proposal was far from being disagreeable or unexpected to the existing members of Session, inasmuch as it had been freely discussed at several meetings of that body, and had been unanimously favored by all who had been present. At the adjourned meeting of the congregation, after an extended consideration, the following resolutions were adopted, viz. :

I. *Resolved*, That hereafter the term of service during which an elder shall exercise the duties of his office in this congregation shall be limited to four years, unless he is invited to continue to do so by a regular vote of its members in communion.

II. *Resolved*, That a meeting of all persons in communion in this congregation shall be called as near as convenient to the first Sabbath in January of every fourth

year dating from the present time, for the purpose of electing those who shall serve as elders during the succeeding term.

III. *Resolved*, That if no such meeting for the election of elders shall be held within one month of the time provided for it, then those who had been in active service during the term immediately preceding shall be regarded as duly chosen for another term.

IV. *Resolved*, That in accepting the office of a Ruling Elder in this congregation, each individual shall be looked upon as giving his assent to this arrangement and as resigning the active duties of his office at the close of his term should he not then be chosen for a new term."

Immediately on the announcement of this vote, "Messrs. Ogilby, Hoffer, Loudon and Harkness, expressed their desire to be no longer regarded as acting elders, so that the members of the church might be free to elect a new Board of Elders under these resolutions. Mr. J. R. Turner, also a member of the Session, declined to pursue the course of his colleagues in relinquishing the active duties of the eldership. The following persons were then nominated and chosen to serve as elders for the ensuing four years, viz.: James Loudon, Charles Ogilby, Henry Harkness, Joseph C. Hoffer, John Irvine, Samuel Coyle, James Coyle, Isaac M. Brandon, Thomas B. Thompson, Robert M. Henderson, William L. Craighead, and E. Beatty."* On the 15th of January, the eight persons last named were ordained and all who had

*Minutes of the Board of Trustees for Jan. 1, 1871.

been elected were installed, and on the 29th took their seats as members of Session.

The plan then adopted had extensively prevailed in both branches of the Presbyterian church, but as doubts were raised in many quarters whether it was quite consistent with the letter of the Constitution or the principles of Presbyterianism, an overture was sent down to the Presbyteries by the General Assembly of 1873, for such an amendment of the Constitution as should remove all scruples on the part of those who favored it. This was adopted by a decided majority of the Presbyteries, and was proclaimed by the General Assembly of 1874. It had been favored by this church, on the ground that it was even then consistent with the Constitution; sanctioned by the original and best usages of the church of Scotland and other portions of the Reformed church; most adapted to cherish a feeling of responsibility and to encourage those whose course was frequently approved by a reelection; gave a convenient opportunity for retiring without reproach when any were disinclined to its duties or were thought unfitted for their calling; and was likely to bring into activity the largest number of persons qualified for public service. The experience of the congregation for the subsequent seven years, and the readiness with which so many churches have adopted it, are indications that it is well suited to the wants and spirit of our people. In 1875 the whole board of elders as it then existed was reelected with the addition of Dr. Robert L. Sibbet (who had before been an elder in the church of Shippensburg), and John B. Landis (who

was ordained Jan. 24, 1875). Henry A. Sturgeon had been already dismissed (Feb. 12, 1869) to Harrisburgh. An addition had also been made (Nov. 2, 1873) to the Board of Deacons, which henceforth consisted of Thomas B. Thompson, John Elliott, Charles Shapley, Robert C. Woodward and William L. Sponsler. It was understood that henceforth the deacons should have the charge not only of the collection and distribution of the funds for the poor, but of the collection of contributions for the standard objects of benevolence.

The discipline of the church, always a difficult and therefore often neglected part of the Session's work, engaged no small share of attention. As much of this must necessarily be private, it is not uncommon for people to suspect neglects and inattention where everything desirable has been done. Even in an account like this, it could serve no good purpose to enter into the details of what was accomplished in Session about this time. Some of this was exceedingly painful, and called for the highest degrees of fidelity, sympathy and wisdom. Persons who had previously stood well in popular esteem or official position were found to need admonition, deposition from office or suspension from church privileges. There was no disposition needlessly to take up judicial business, and when fidelity to official duty constrained to its performance, all doubtful evidence was gladly construed favorably, and only under the clearest light were high penalties enforced. In every result reached there appears to have been complete unanimity on the part of those who acted as judges. The

mere infirmities of passion and the indiscretions of youth were met with forbearance and kind admonitions, and the hold of the church on its members was never cast off, as long as the hope of recovery survived. Only when the purity of the church and the honor and consistency of religion required it, never for the destruction and subversion of any one, was it thought desirable to make ecclesiastical authority prominent.

No sooner had the Reunion of the church been decided upon, than a simultaneous impulse of gratitude for the harmony and success with which that result had been attained, prompted its members to make collections for a Memorial of that event. The Joint Convention of the two Assemblies at Pittsburgh in 1869, resolved that it was "incumbent on the Presbyterian church, one in organization, one in faith and one in effort to make a special offering to the treasury of the Lord of Five Millions of Dollars before the Third Thursday of May, 1871."* It was thought that it would not be wise to confine the contributions to the erection of any such monument or building, as would be limited to a single spot and be without permanent interest to the great body of the people; but that they should be directed to such structural and institutional objects as would be scattered through every part of the church, and be of perpetual utility, such as churches, manses, literary and theological institutions at home and abroad, hospitals connected with the church, and houses for the use of the Boards.† At the time

*Minutes of General Assembly at its Adjourned Meeting in Pittsburgh, 1869, p. 504.

†Minutes of the General Assembly for 1870, pp. 74—5.

specified as the close of the effort (May 23, 1871), the Committee reported that after ruling out all annual collections for benevolent objects, college-donations and common church enterprizes not strictly within the range of the invitation (amounting to not less than two millions of dollars), the total amount then reported to them was seven millions six hundred and seven thousand four hundred and ninety-five dollars.* Before the close of that year this sum was considerably enlarged. The First church of Carlisle entered into this movement with spirit, and the Trustees were authorized to build on the site of the former Lecture room, an addition to the church edifice to consist of a larger two-story building of cut stone corresponding to the main edifice; to be two stories in height, with rooms for weekly services, for the Sabbath School, for a library, and for meetings of the Session; and to be surmounted by a tower suitable for the whole structure. This plan was carried out, and the new building was dedicated to God on the 18th of October, 1873. The amount needful for this work was not completed at that time, as the building was found to be more expensive than was anticipated, and consequently a debt of near four thousand dollars was incurred.

The next year much interest was felt by a portion of our community in the Temperance cause. In sympathy with some movements in the West, in opposition to the traffic in intoxicating liquors, new hopes began to be entertained of an abatement of this terrific evil. Daily

*Minutes of General Assembly, for 1871, pp. 514—16.

prayermeetings were held, attended by ministers and Christians of all denominations for four months in succession.

In the early part of the year 1875, earnest desires and protracted efforts were put forth for a general revival. In connection with the observance of the "Week of Prayer," daily meetings were commenced and continued without intermission until the communion season on the second Sabbath of March. Discourses were usually preached at each of these meetings, in some instances by neighboring ministers; especial assistance was rendered as far as his health would permit by Dr. J. G. Craighead who was providentially spending the winter here; and an unusual activity was developed on the part of some members of Session. At an early period of the meetings, a company of young men most of whom were not professors of religion and some not more than usually interested in the subject were invited privately to meet together each evening and were organized into a society for religious improvement. At these meetings they were urged to make their decision for Christ and when they had done so to engage in exercises of prayer and praise and serious conversation. Other special meetings were held in behalf of young ladies and children of the church. The result was that most of the conversions which took place during the progress of the work were among the youth. Nineteen persons came forward for the first time to the ensuing communion, and others were subjects of impressions which found expression afterward.

It had now become apparent that these accumulated

labors had begun to tell upon the health of the pastor. There had been an understanding from the commencement of his ministry here, that he should be allowed four or five weeks in the middle of summer every year, for recreation and rest. During each of the last fifteen years he had availed himself of this privilege, and had found these vacations quite as profitable to the people as to himself in the new life and enlarged experience they enabled him to bring to his work. As far back as 1869 however, the leading members of the congregation perceived that a longer season of retirement from pastoral work would be likely to prolong life in the end; and at a meeting of the congregation April 11, the following preamble and resolution were "unanimously adopted:" "This congregation fully appreciating the faithful ministry of its pastor the Rev. Dr. Wing in the pulpit of this church for the past Twenty-one years, with their hopes and prayers for a renewal of his impaired health, and sincerely desiring that the bond of union should be unbroken, do now tender to him in earnest sympathy, the respect, esteem and love of his people; and Resolved, That this congregation with a view to afford our pastor a proper relaxation from his ministerial labors, do request the authorities of the church under the advice and sanction of the pastor, to call a Colleague for the period of Six months at a salary of Five Hundred Dollars to be paid by voluntary subscription." This amount was immediately subscribed, and Mr. Howard Kingsbury, who had just graduated at the Union Theological Seminary at New York was obtained for the time speci-

fied. This kind and considerate act of his people was accepted and remembered with much gratitude. Still during the ensuing year so great was his discouragement that on the 7th of Dec. he sent a letter to the Session, requesting them "to consider whether they would not call a meeting of the communicants to unite with him in requesting Presbytery to dissolve or at least make some change in their present pastoral relation." To this the Session after some consultation replied (Dec. 13th), "That the Elders do not deem it expedient to call a congregational meeting for the purpose suggested." On the 8th of March, 1873, he informed the Session that he had "deliberately concluded that the state of his health and the interests of the congregations required that on the 20th of April, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his pastorate (or as near it as may be found convenient), his pastoral labors should wholly or partially (according as they might agree with him was expedient) cease." He therefore tendered the same request as on a former occasion that "an opportunity might be given to the congregation to unite with him in his proposition to Presbytery." To this the Session yielded a compliance so far as to call a meeting, at which no decisive action however was taken; and on the 4th of April, Session Resolved, I. That in view of the action of the congregation upon the communication of the pastor, and his explanation relative thereto the Session are unanimously of the opinion that the interests of the congregation and the peace and harmony of the church will be best promoted by no further action on the subject, and that the

Session earnestly ask the pastor not to request Presbytery to take action in the premises. Resolved II, That the Session sympathizing with the pastor and regretting the impaired state of his health after the labor of near twenty-five years in our midst will join with the congregation in extending a vacation of some months during the coming summer at his own time and convenience, in the hope that his health may be renewed and the time of his usefulness extended."

After these repeated opportunities of terminating his labors among this people, if they had been willing to have them cease, no further attempts were made to disturb the relation for the ensuing two years. He was still able to supply the pulpit every Sabbath, and to perform his usual pastoral duties with renewed energies. But after the exhausting labors of the meetings in the commencement of the year 1875, and after a brief absence as a commissioner to the General Assembly of that year in which he served as chairman to one of its most laborious and responsible committees, he thought proper finally to bring the subject before his people, and after a number of conferences with the Session, it was agreed that a congregational meeting should be called in the usual manner for the 18th of July, but it was recommended that at that meeting the congregation should "decline the proposition for the complete sundering of the pastorate, but should nevertheless so far acquiesce in the desire which our pastor has expressed, that with the consent of Presbytery his relation be changed so that he shall henceforth be *pastor emeritus*, or in other words be discharged from

all obligation to perform pastoral or ministerial duties except such occasional preaching as he may find convenient on the invitation of the pastor or the Session." This recommendation was unanimously adopted at the congregational meeting together with a resolution, "That from a regard to his past services and without reference to future labor of any kind, and from a desire to promote the comfort of himself and his family we agree to pay him \$500, for the first year in quarterly installments (commencing Oct. 20, 1875) and for subsequent years such sums as may be agreed upon by the Trustees or the congregation." For a time this arrangement was acquiesced in, but after some consultation, the pastor thought it wiser to present his request to Presbytery in the usual manner for a complete dissolution of his pastoral relation. Accordingly at a meeting of the Presbytery in October, when his proposal was laid before that body, the congregation was cited to appear by their commissioners at the next meeting of Presbytery, Oct. 25, 1875, to show cause, if any they had, why the Presbytery should not accept the resignation of their pastor and take such action as might become necessary in the case." A meeting of the congregation was therefore called Oct. 17, 1875, at which "after a brief address by Dr. Wing in which he gave the reasons for the request he had made to Presbytery and expressed his earnest desire that the congregation would unanimously join with him in that request," the following preamble and resolutions were adopted by a decided majority, viz.: "Whereas our much esteemed pastor Rev. Conway P.

Wing, D. D., after a faithful service in the ministry of more than forty-three years, twenty-seven of which have been in this church, has asked leave of Presbytery to resign his pastoral charge, and Whereas, Presbytery has directed this congregation by their commissioners at their next meeting to show cause, &c., Therefore,

I. *Resolved*, That this congregation acquiesce, though with great reluctance, in the wish their pastor has expressed that his relation to the church be dissolved.

II. *Resolved*, That from a desire to promote the comfort of himself and his family in the future, this congregation agrees to pay Dr. Wing Five Hundred Dollars in quarterly installments during the first year, commencing with the dissolution of the pastoral relation, and thereafter annually, Three Hundred Dollars in quarterly installments during the time of his remaining in our midst.

III. *Resolved*, That the pew which his family have been accustomed to occupy be given him free of charge.

IV. *Resolved*, That in parting with our beloved pastor it is our hope and prayer, that his life may be long spared as a witness for the truth which he has so ably preached among us, and we desire to express to him and his wife our sincere regards and wishes for their future happiness."* These resolutions being presented to Presbytery at its adjourned meeting at Lewistown, Oct. 23, 1875, by the commissioner of the congregation, were regarded as sufficient, and the pastoral relation was ac-

* Minutes of congregational meetings in the Book of Records of the Board of Trustees.

cordingly dissolved. The health of Mr. Wing suffered a severe shock during the ensuing autumn and winter, but on the return of spring it was so far restored that he was able to participate freely in the ministerial work of the remarkable revival which prevailed in his former congregation and in all the churches of this valley.

During his ministry in Carlisle there had been admitted to the communion of the church, Three Hundred and Twenty persons by profession of their faith, and Ninety-seven by certificate. A table is here given which contains the number of baptisms, of additions by profession and by letter, the whole number of communicants and of those connected with the Sabbath School, and the amount of contributions to the regular objects of benevolence, for the last twenty-eight years. A blank will be noticed in the columns relating to contributions and Sabbath Schools, inasmuch as no records have been preserved with respect to these items during that portion of time.

Years.	Baptized.	Added on Prof.	Added on Certif.	Commu- nicants.	Sabbath Schools.	Contri- butions.
1848	17	5	8	275		
1849	8	15	4	290		
1850	25	8	4	300		
1851	24	23	1	320		
1852	10	12	4	300		
1853	12	17	8	291		450
1854	20	5	1	303		463
1855	10	1	1	273		395
1856	25	11	3	295		378

Years.	Baptized.	Added on Prof.	Added on Certif.	Communi- cants.	Sabbath Schools.	Contri- butions.
1857	16	8	3	306		382
1858	34	45	2	328		450
1859	20	11	4	337		535
1860	13	9	1	337		617
1861	5	7	1	333		669
1862	19	4	1	327		593
1863	15	17	9	325		651
1864	7	4	4	332		740
1865	12	8	—	326	315	671
1866	19	41	5	352	360	612
1867	16	10	3	351	306	610
1868	11	9	5	331	310	707
1869	14	12	4	347	208	915
1870	8	10	1	348	260	668
1871	9	8	3	352	220	688
1872	4	2	3	326	145	860
1873	4	2	6	337	135	834
1874	9	7	5	319	187	553
1875	5	19	2	318	187	444
Total,		381	320	97		\$13925

The number of communicants whose persons and residences were known to the pastor and living under his charge at the close of his pastorate was Three Hundred and Seventeen. The number of families connected with the congregation was, in town Ninety-seven, and in the country Forty-six. These were expected to be visited in the early part of his ministry twice, and in the latter part, once each year, besides those more frequent visits which were occasionally made in sickness, at weddings, family gatherings and on special invitation. Without

intentionally passing by any family the whole congregation was thus visited pastorally not less than thirty times. The number of pewholders at the commencement was, according to a programme of the church, still preserved, very nearly One Hundred and Five, Sixty of these have been removed either by death or a change of residence. For most of the time all those pews which were ordinarily available were actually rented, and the revenue from them rose from about \$800 to double that amount. More recently after the annual interest on the debt of the church had amounted to \$390, and in consequence of hard times some had failed to pay their rents and a few had removed from town without their places being supplied, this revenue was insufficient for expenses, and the debt was increased so that embarrassments began to be felt and higher assessments became necessary. Thirteen Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-five Dollars were contributed for benevolent objects during the last twenty-four years, the only time in which a record of contributions has been preserved. About Thirteen Thousand Dollars have been contributed for repairs and for building in connection with our house of worship. In the season of Civil War numerous calls were made upon our charities to which our people cheerfully responded, but of which no estimate can now be made. During the whole time of his residence in Carlisle, the pastor failed not to preach on the Sabbath from ill health more than five times; he preached not less than Four Thousand One Hundred times, attended Four Hundred and Ninety-six funerals,

administered baptism to Three Hundred and Twenty persons and united in marriage Four Hundred and eight. Three elders, Thomas Uriel (Oct. 7, 1849), Joseph D. Halbert (June 28, 1863), and Jacob Shrom (about 1868), have been removed by death, and four, Henry A. Sturgeon, (Feb. 12, 1869), James Ralston (Sept. 25, 1870), Henry Harkness (Jan. 24, 1875), and Isaac M. Brandon (Oct. 10, 1875), have taken dismissions to other churches.

In April, 1861, Mr. Wing was invited to address the Alumni of Auburn Theological Seminary; in May of the same year, to give the annual Address before the Presbyterian Historical Society at the General Assembly in Cincinnati; to preach before the Society of Inquiry of Dickinson College at Commencement in 1869; to address the Synod of Pennsylvania at Wilmington, Del., on "America as the special field for the American church;" and to give the dedicatory address at the opening of the New Cemetery of Carlisle, Oct. 8, 1865. Most of these discourses with several sermons at Thanksgiving services in Carlisle were published soon after their delivery. He also wrote eleven articles for the Presbyterian and Methodist Quarterly Reviews, and was a frequent contributor to the New York Evangelist. In connection with Dr. C. E. Blumenthal of New York, he translated from the German in 1856 Dr. Hase's "Manual of Ecclesiastical History," a large volume of Seven Hundred pages published by D. Appleton & Co., New York; and in 1868, he contributed a Translation, with large additions, of C. F. Kling's "Commentary on the Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians," published by Dr.

Schaff in his American series of Lange's Commentaries on the Bible. In 1870 he supplied two extensive articles on "Gnosticism" and on "Federal Theology" to Mc-Clintock's and Strong's Cyclopædia. These various addresses and publications were never allowed to interfere with his duties as a pastor. The time for them therefore was taken, not from those hours which are ordinarily given to pastoral work, but from those usually given to leisure and recreation.

CHAPTER X.

MR. VANCE'S SETTLEMENT, AND CONCLUSION.

It was not long before the vacancy in the pastorate was supplied. By the suggestion of neighboring ministers, the Rev. Jos. Vance, who had recently been preaching in the church in Reading during the temporary absence of its pastor, was invited near the middle of November, 1876, to preach for a single Sabbath, and soon after as a stated supply for two months. He was a native of Washington County, Pennsylvania, and after graduating at Washington College and the Western Theological Seminary, he began preaching (July, 1861) at Beaver Dam, Wisconsin, where he was ordained by the Presbytery of Winnebago in June, 1862. In January, 1865, he left this charge to engage in the work of the Christian Commission among the soldiers of the Union

Army. While thus employed he was appointed a superintendent of Schools for Freedmen in the Vicksburgh District, and preached regularly for the troops in that vicinity until the return of Peace. In October, 1865, he was installed the pastor of the Second Presbyterian church at Vincennes, Indiana; and after the Reunion, when the two churches of that City became one, he was chosen pastor of the united congregation. In 1871 he was severely afflicted by the death of his wife, and three years afterwards (July 1, 1874), he resigned his charge after a ministry in that city of eight years and six months. On receiving the call from the First Church of Carlisle (February, 1876), he immediately accepted of it, and entered upon his ministry in that place. At his installation (April 30, 1876), the former pastor preached, and cordially welcomed him to his new charge.

Before his installation and while preaching as a stated supply, he was much encouraged by a special divine blessing upon his people. The first week in January had been observed in accordance with usage as a season of special prayer, and although no remarkable indications of a general awakening were apparent, the church determined from week to week to continue its meetings. Revivals of extraordinary power were prevailing in nearly all the churches of this region, and the hearts of the people were much stirred by frequent reports of what God was doing in other places. The two Presbyterian, the two Methodist and the Evangelical churches of Carlisle, after a while united in religious services every evening except on the Sabbath, and for several

weeks, the crowded assemblies and the deep seriousness of the people indicated that God was present in them. The ministers of those churches, the former pastor and the Professors in College labored in these meetings with great unanimity and earnestness; and a large number were hopefully converted to God. These Union meetings were continued with scarcely any interruption until the usual Sacramental season (March 19, 1876), when forty-three new communicants were received into the First Church.

During the succeeding summer the congregation was encouraged to make an effort to remove the debt of the church and to improve the interior of its house of worship. The financial embarrassments which had been felt with increasing stringency each year after the civil war, and the large amount of interest paid on the loans which had been made for building, had seriously affected its energy and spirit. An amount of collections and pledges was soon obtained which relieved the Trustees from immediate anxiety, and a considerable sum had accumulated in the Treasury of the Mite Society which had been contributed for future repairs. The congregation therefore felt warranted in resuming the work which had been interrupted two years before. Accordingly in September labor was commenced on the lower part of the main audience room, and for four months public worship was held in the spacious Lecture-room. The pews which had run nearly straight across the church and were otherwise inconvenient were exchanged for the present semi-circular and comfortable seats, the pulpit was lowered and made more open, and the upholstering was

entirely renewed. The plan according to which these alterations were made embraced also important changes in the windows, vestibule, outer doors and the gallery of the church, but these were postponed to some more convenient season. The new improvements were paid for and completed, so that on Dec. 10, 1876, the church was reopened for public worship. A state of harmony and mutual cooperation exists between the members, the officers, and the present and the former pastor of the church, which promises well for the prosperity and peace of all.

Although the range of our history has been contracted and obscure, it may be instructive and stimulating especially to those now living on the same sphere. Nowhere do men appear more interesting than in private relations where the eye of the great world awakens no desire of acting an unreal part. With but few written memorials we have still been enabled to present circumstances which leave us in no doubt of the motives and spirit of the actors. These alone give life to a narrative. Mere names and dates never make history. Our graveyards would give us these under conditions of equal interest and profit. We have hitherto left our narrative to suggest its own lessons, but in conclusion we are disposed to present certain points of special prominence.*

*The following suggestions are substantially taken from the close of "A Centennial Address," delivered by the writer on the invitation of the First Presbyterian church of Carlisle, July 3, 1876, and requested for publication.

1. The predominance of the religious spirit should not be overlooked. Though not driven to exile by persecution, no one can doubt that the spirit of the first settlers was the same with that of the earlier martyrs and confessors. They were indeed "diligent in business," and "fervent in spirit," but in all things they "served the Lord." Whatsoever they did it was for the glory of God. Common, social and political life were all religious. Their plainest homes as well as their churches and schools, were pervaded and controlled by their faith. Without appreciating their serious spirit many of their contemporaries, and some even of their descendants have attempted an apology for them as stern and intolerant. But in truth they only asked to live in the fear of God, and never molested those of a different spirit.

2. Their religion however was characterized by an honorable degree of intelligence. From their condition in life and their circumstances we should not expect what are called the refinements of life. The cultivation of taste and of the fine arts was scarcely possible to them. But their tendencies were in the direction of intellectual improvement of every kind. As opportunities opened to them, they were eager for all sorts of knowledge. Their ministers, teachers, schools and College were of the highest attainable character. Ignorance was, in their esteem, the mother, not of devotion; but of worldliness, brutishness and servility. They demanded that every Christian however humble, should exercise private judgment, responsible to God for everything in his creed or practice. All were likely therefore to have intelligent

convictions and a power to maintain them. Controversies and even schisms might be the consequence, but not religious levity, mockery at sin, credulity nor a blind submission to blind leaders.

3. They were equally the friends of freedom and of social progress. Every recollection of the past and every national instinct inclined them to sympathize with popular rights against unjust oppression. Their ancestors had cruelly suffered under civil and ecclesiastical usurpations; and for generations they had maintained an unyielding resistance to unauthorized claims. The iron had entered the whole people's heart and they knew how to feel for all that were oppressed. Such men were sure to understand their rights, quick to repel the encroachments of their rulers, prompt to renounce an authority which had ceased to regard its appropriate ends, and when called to defend their liberties ready to do and to suffer to the last. On the other hand they were quite as reliable to stand by their government when its essential principles and administration were assailed. Rash combinations for breaking up our national unity in order to perpetuate the yoke of slavery on their fellowmen, found their firmest opponents here. Those too who renewed in this country the vexatious attempt to impose prelacy and uniformity upon all classes in religion, could make no progress with such men. Among their first principles were the perfect parity of ministers and the right of laymen to choose and criticise their teachers. More especially since the union of the two congregations under Dr. Davidson (1785), they jeal-

ously upheld the maxim that all who heartily subscribed the Westminster Standards were entitled to an equal standing in the Presbyterian church. Before and since that time, not a few have contended that certain interpretations of those Standards which had acquired traditional authority were alone to be tolerated. Without deciding whether other interpretations were true and Scriptural or not, the majority of our people in all periods of their history have maintained that nothing should be treated as an ecclesiastical offence which was consistent with the language and spirit of the Confession. All who could stand on that simple basis they contended have a right to an equal position before the law. Whatever preference one might have for this or that theological tenet or ecclesiastical measure, he would break away from every historical association of our people who should withdraw fellowship from another on account of opinions or practices uncondemned by the plain letter of our standards.

4. And yet the congregation has been remarkable for its stability and consistency. Though it has maintained the right to differ from traditional theology or modes of worship, it has seldom if ever taken advantage of this liberty. It stood by its minister and by his brethren, and suffered much from its assertion of their rights, and yet it has been conservative in its own practice. Its preference has uniformly been for a settled pastorate, for the ordinary means of grace, for the soundest orthodoxy, for the most evangelical preaching, and for the most spiritual literature. It has demanded freedom within its

chosen limits but its actual growth has been conformed to its appropriate type. During One Hundred and Nine out of One Hundred and Forty years of existence it has had a settled ministry ; and of its seven pastors (of whom two were contemporary in congregations afterwards united in one), the average of time has been fifteen years and a half. It has never been fond of novelties, and though it has enjoyed the services of some distinguished preachers, it has never been betrayed into the worship of mere talent or into an inordinate love of excitement. The simple word of Scriptural truth, and the old paths of spiritual safety have always been most acceptable.

From these historical traits, it is to be hoped the congregation will not essentially depart. Whatever may be wise for others, this people have a peculiar life which is indispensable to its proper development and its true prosperity. Surely this need not restrain its improvement. Those best honor their ancestors who have life and wisdom enough to excel them. Our predecessors have provided for us a rich heritage and a worthy example, and we shall best show our appreciation of their spirit by an abundant fruitage and by enlarging our possessions. "There remains much land to be possessed." The full power of our religion has hardly been put forth. Nations are yet to be born in a day, and the Spirit is to be poured out from on high with a copiousness worthy of prophetic symbolism. Our humanity must yet be so sanctified and replenished with divine energies as to be an appropriate organ for its theanthropic Head. Even our

most Christian nations have scarcely carried out the spirit of the gospel, and applied it unflinchingly to their social usages, their arts, their literature and their sciences. It becomes each Christian to derive power and wisdom and courage from the past, and press on to higher achievements. Then, as time advances, the ratio of success will be rapidly augmented, and soon "the kingdoms of the world will become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ."



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